ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER ED001087

2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S). N.A.

3. IDENTIFICATION NO. CR 1479

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

4. AUTHOR(S): Marcson, Simon and Fasick, Frank et al.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:

Elementary Summer Schooling of Migrant Children

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN

ORG. Rutgers, The State University

ST. New Brunswick, NJ

CITY, STATE

TELE. EXT.

INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE

Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	64	389

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE YES ☐ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED YES ☐ NO ☒

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED YES ☐ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT

PROPOSAL ☐

IN-PROGRESS ☐

FINAL ☐

FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR research

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

		occupational aspirations	social barriers
language barriers	camp schools	migrant school systems	economic barriers
sexual activity	agri. migrants	migrant summer schooling	migrant families
study-subsidy	marital instability	culturally disadvantaged	academic performance

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Two basic programs to provide underprivileged children generally, and migrant children in particular, with the education they need to improve their social and economic position are presented. The first program is based upon the framework of the existing system, and would expand the use of kindergarten and nursery schools, improve primary and secondary schools, introduce a study-subsidy program in cases of financial hardship, and perhaps try to improve the family situation with allowances or wage increases. The second suggested program would consist of residential or camp school programs from nursery through high school. Study reveals that action is needed immediately; the longer it is postponed the more underprivileged children are condemned to lead the lives of their parents. This research reveals the behavioral characteristics of migrants. In the U.S. today there are one million migrant workers, half of them under 14. This study was made among migrants in New Jersey, where negro children outnumbered Puerto Rican, with only a handful of whites. In summer schools conducted for these children, there appears to be a 2/3 turnover from year to year, leading teachers to conclude that parents use the school as day care centers until the child is old enough to become a productive worker. Parents have lack of contact with school experiences and their attitudes conflict with their educational aspirations for children. They show considerable pride in the financial assistance of children. Text is accompanied by numerous tables and interviews.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION

20. DIVISION OR DEPT.

21. CONTRACT NO.

PROJECT NO.

22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT

23. DURATION OR PROJECT

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ELEMENTARY SUMMER SCHOOLING OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Cooperative Research Project No. 1479

Social Structure and Ignorance

By

Simon Marcson,

and

Frank Fasick,

With the Assistance of:

Richard Schacht
Milton Schwartz
Pearl Lieff
Roger Craig
Arthur Liebman
Michael Marcson

RUTGERS - THE STATE UNIVERSITY
NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

1964

The research reported herein was supported by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

ED001087

PREFACE

The educational complexities inherent in the migrancy and poverty of the children of migrant workers is one of our nation's most persistent social and economic problems.

> 'The problems of educating those children at many points run counter to the traditional and legally established educational policies and programs of the states and of the nation; they entail extremely complex social and economic implications; they are both state and interstate in nature and are frequently permitted to go unmet because the children are thought of as belonging to another community of another state. The migrant children have the lowest educational attainments of any group in the nation. They enter school later, attend fewer days, show greatest retardation, achieve the least progress, drop out of school earliest, and constitute the largest single reservoir of illiterates.'

This statement was made first in 1952 in a report of the Office of Education, "Education of Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers", and restated in a 1961 report of the Children's Bureau, "Children in Migrant Families." The problem essentially remains the same today.

In 1947 New Jersey pioneered in an attempt at a solution to the problem of educating these children in establishing summer schools for migrant children. In the summer of 1961 with the assistance of New Jersey's State Department of Labor and Industry under Commissioner Raymond Male, we undertook to develop research plans for a study of the schools for migrant children operating under the Department. Dr. Nathan Gould assisted in the preparation of these plans. The research plans received the support of the U. S. Office of Education and in the summers of 1962 and 1963 our field staff conducted interviews with 174 children, all the teachers, and 99 parents. For myself, this represented a return to an earlier research interest dating back to my research work for the Illinois Transient Bureau in 1935. For my colleague, Professor Frank Fasick who appears as co-author, and to my staff- Richard Schacht, Pearl Lieff, Arthur Liebman, Roger Craig and Michael Marcson - who appear as assistant authors, it has opened new and exciting research interests into a segment of American life little known, and largely bypassed by the behavioral scientist.

Our findings, while they reveal much about the behavioral characteristics of migrants, are directed towards recommendations that are both specific with respect to administrative changes on the state level and towards broad legislative proposals on the federal level. While the problem, as has been pointed out is complex, it can be reduced in complexisty, and pushed towards solution. Our findings indicate the avenues that can be taken towards their solution.

From our first contact with the U. S. Office of Education, the highly competent Dr. Alice Y. Scates has been continuously of inestimable assistance. Mr. Simeon Moss, who was the supervisor of the migtant schools when they were in the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry served as a consultant to our study. Mr. Thomas Bogia who took over as supervisor when the schools were transferred to the Department of Education provided us with every courtesy and assistance in facilitating our entry into the schools, and arranging space and time for interviews with children and teachers. Professor Everett

C. Hughes, Brandeis University, proved a wise and generous consultant while, Professor Milton Schwartz, Rutgers University, expertly administered and analyzed the intelligence and reading tests used in the study. Mrs. Coralee Farlee, Rutgers University, was always graciously available for consultation on analytical codings, and IBM processing problems. The Department of Sociology Research Laboratory which she administered provided the necessary research facilities for the project's staff. In addition to the above, we wish to gratefully acknowledge the following additional staff members who contributed their services to the project as interviewers - Francis Knowles, John Hinman, Philip Marcus, Jack Osman, Rosa Davila; as tabulator, Betty Graeber; as typists, Sondra W. Palmieri, Gloria J. Irace and Jean Plaganis.

The present report focuses less on the physical "plight" of these children than on the factors which push them away from schooling and the aspirations for learning. These factors support and reinforce the influences which maintain them on a level of ignorance which excludes them from our major avenues of mobility and keep them as part of our impoverished millions. The changes recommended in this resport are possible of implementation and would place each child in his own doorway of social and economic opportunity.

Simon Marcson

New Brunswick, New Jersey
August 21, 1964

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE i

LIST OF TABLES vi

INTRODUCTION, by Thomas Bogia xii

PART I. THE MIGRANT PROBLEM - A SETTING FOR EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION

Chapter

I. The People Who Follow the Crops 1

II. A Profile of Migrant School Children 28

III. The Migrant Family 45

PART II. THE CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLING

IV. Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part 1 . . 73

V. Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part 2 . . 97

VI. The Social Bases of Performance 113

VII. The Anticipation of Continued Education 142

VIII. The Teacher Views the Migrant Child 178

PART III. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORTS OF IGNORANCE

IX. The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education 190

X. The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education 228

PART IV. A PROGRAM FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

XI. Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility . . 261

APPENDICES

A. An Exercise in Finding Lost Children 311

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont.)

B. The Measure of Performance 316

C. Methodological Notes 320

D. Questionnaires 324

E. Staff 361

F. The Status of Migratory Labor Legislation 362

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

A. New Jersey Summer Schools for Migrant Children xiii

B. Increase in Enrollment in New Jersey Summer Schools for Migrant Children xv

C. Health Program Tests of Migrant Summer School Children in New Jersey xix

I-1 Selected New Jersey Crops: Production at 3-Year Intervals 15

I-2 Maximum Number of Migrant Workers Used in New Jersey, 1958-1963 16

I-3 Various Groups of Migrant Workers in N.J., 1958-63 17

I-4 Contract and Walk-In Puerto Rican Migrant Workers in N.J., 1961-63 19

I-5 12-15 Year Old Migrant Children in New Jersey, 1960-63 . . 21

I-6 5-11 Year Old Migrant Children in New Jersey, 1960-63 . . 22

I-7 1-4 Year Old Migrant Children in New Jersey, 1960-63 . . . 23

II-1 Migrant Children in Sending Counties and in N.J. 29

II-2 Ethnic Background of Children Interviewed, By School (1962-1963) 31

II-3 State Origins of Migrant Families 33

II-4 Number of Years Families Have Followed Crops 35

II-5 Families in Which Children Are Living With Natural Parents by Ethnicity 36

II-6 Anticipated Length of Enrollment in Home Base School . . 38

II-7 Number and Location of Schools Attended 39

II-8 Grade Distribution by Age 42

III-1 No. of Children by Sample Females and By Marital Stability 55

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

Page

III-2 No. of Children By Age and By Marital Stability. 57

III-3 Education of Mothers By Type of Marital Stability . . . 58

III-4 Educational Aspirations of Mothers For Their Children . 59

III-5 Parents Attitudes About the Economic Self Sufficiency of Their Children By Age of Children and Type of Marital Stability 60

III-6 Mother's Education By Ethnicity 65

III-7 Mother's Feelings About Children Following the Crops By Ethnicity 66

III-8 Jobs Mothers Think Are "Pretty Good" By Ethnicity . . . 68

III-9 Mother's Occupational Aspirations For Children By Ethnicity 69

V-1 Chronological, Reading, And Mental Ages of Children Tested in 1963 105

VI-1 Reading Level By Age When Started School 115

VI-2 Reading Level By Location of Home Base School 117

VI-3 Amount of Education Mother Thinks Necessary To Get By By Location of Home Base School 119

VI-4 Reading Level By Number of Schools Attended 121

VI-5 Reading Level By Previous Attendance At Summer School . . 122

VI-6 Reading Level By Amount of Reading Outside of School During Previous Week 123

VI-7 Reading Level By Amount of Education Mother Thinks Necessary To Get By 124

VI-8 Reading Level By Reason Mother Gives For Students Dropping Out of School and Ethnicity 125

VI-9 Amount of Education Mother Thinks Necessary To Get By By Reason Mother Gives For Students Dropping Out of School 127

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

Page

VI-10 Reading Level By Amount of Education Mother Thinks Is Necessary To Get By and Reason Mother Gives For Students Dropping Out of School . 128

VI-11 Reading Level By Adult Perceived By Student To Be Most Interested In Sending Him To Summer School. 129

VI-12 Reading Level By Student's Perception of Reason Parents Would Want Him To Attend Summer School . . 131

VI-13 Reading Level by Mother's Education and Ethnicity . . . 132

VI-14 Reading Level By Whether Or Not Student Says He Is Sometimes Absent From School 134

VI-15 Reading Level By Student's Reasons For Absences From School 134

VI-16 Reading Level By Whether Or Not Student Works On Farm With Parents 135

VI-17 Whether Student Would Choose High School Or Work At Age 16 By Reading Level 136

VI-18 Students' Expectations of Continuing In School By Reading Level 137

VI-19 Reading Level By Occupation Would Like to Enter. 138

VII-1 Student's Expectations of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and Sex 143

VII-2 Student's Expectations of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and Age 144

VII-3 Student's Expectations of Continuing In School By Age When Started School 145

VII-4 Student's Expectations of Continuing In School By Location of Home Base School 146

VII-5 Students' Expectations of Whether Student Would Choose High School or Work At Age 16 147

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

Page

VII-6 Whether Student Would Choose Working, Baby Sitting, Playing Or School By Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School 148

VII-7 Whether Student Would Rather Attend School To 3 P.M. Or 5 P.M. By Expectations Of Students Continuing In School 148

VII-8 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Sex And Perceived Teachers' Attitudes 150

VII-9 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Whether The Student Works On Farm With The Parents 151

VII-10 Students' Expectations of Continuing In School By Ethnicity And Whether Student Works On Farm With Parent 152

VII-11 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Frequency With Which They Take Care Of Siblings 153

VII-12 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and Perceived Parental Feelings About School Vs. Work 154

VII-13 Adults Perceived By Students To Be Most Interested In Sending Them To Summer School 155

VII-14 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Adults Perceived To Be Most Interested In Sending Children To Summer School . . . 156

VII-15 Mothers' Opinions Of Importance Of High School Graduation For Getting A Good Job 157

VII-17 Students' Expectations By Mother's Opinion Regarding Importance of High School Graduation For Getting A Good Job 158

VII-18 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Ethnicity And Mother's Opinion Regarding Importance Of High School Graduation For Getting A Good Job 158

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

Page

VII-19 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Mothers' Opinions Regarding The Amount of Schooling Necessary To Get By 159

VII-20 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Whether Mother & Husband Reside Together In New Jersey 160

VII-21 Students' Expectations of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and Whether Mother and Husband Reside Together In New Jersey 161

VII-22 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Sex and Whether Mother and Husband Reside Together In New Jersey 162

VII-23 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Age of Parents 163

VII-24 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and By Age of Mother 163

VII-25 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Mother's Education 164

VII-26 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Whether or Not Father Has Non-Farm Occupation 165

VII-27 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Ethnicity and Whether Or Not Father Has Non-Farm Occupation 166

VII-28 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Number of Children In The Family 167

VII-29 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Whether Or Not Students Think They Might Have To Leave School Because Their Family Will Need Money 168

VII-30 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Mother's Reasons For Students Dropping Out Of The Schools 169

VII-31 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School Perceived Weekly Earnings Of Most Families 170

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

Page

VII-32 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Number of Years Mother Has Followed The Crops 171

VII-33 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By Whether Or Not Family Returns To Same Farm(s) Each Year 172

VII-34 Students' Expectations Of Continuing In School By The Students' Attitudes Toward Migration 173

VII-35 Expected Earnings As An Adult By Students Expectations Of Continuing In School 174

VII-36 Occupations Students Want To Enter By Expectations Of Continuing In School 175

VII-37 Occupations Students Would Most Like To Enter By Expectations Of Continuing In School . 176

IX-1 Child's Perception of Parents' Interest In Children's Schooling 191

IX-2 Number of Families With Television Sets In Florida . 193

IX-3 Number of Family Members X Number Of Rooms In Florida 194

IX-4 Amount Children Fight In Winter Schools 208

IX-5 Amount Children Are Whipped In Winter Schools 208

A-1 Per Cent Pupils Located In Winter School by N. J. School 312

A-2 Per Cent Pupils Located In Winter School by Age and By N.J. School 312

A-3 Number of Winter Schools and Towns Sending Pupils By N.J. Schools 313

A-4 Per Cent Pupils In Attendance At Winter Schools Named by N.J. Schools 314

A-5 Length of Time Between Requests Sent To Florida Schools And Replies 314
A-6 Percentage of Pupils In School Indicated By Them . . 315
A-7 Percentage of Pupils In School Indicated By Age . . . 315

INTRODUCTION

This study undertaken by Professor Simon Marcson and his colleagues of Rutgers University and sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education is of extreme interest to us. We look forward to utilizing the findings and incorporating them in our school program to the ultimate benefit of our migrant school children. As pioneers in the development of special schools for migrant children, we have from the first welcomed this study and looked forward to the assistance to be derived from its findings. We have observed its careful concern about our operations, and learned much from it about the meticulous research techniques utilized. The U. S. Office of Education is to be congratulated for fostering research activities which open up new social science research vistas, and at the same time are of practical use to the working educator.

New Jersey's Migrant School System

New Jersey was one of the first states to recognize the problems of the children of migrant agricultural workers and was one of the first states to establish special educational programs to deal with these problems.

Some experimental work with a child care center was done in a camp near Swedesboro in 1946, and 1947 a more extensive educational program was initiated in Freehold with the opening of the first demonstration summer school for the children of migrant farm workers. The school was operated by the Bureau of Migrant Labor with the cooperation of the State Department of Education.

The experiment at Freehold was successful and continued there for the following four summers. In 1953 and 1954 the location of the school was changed to Perrineville, and in 1955 schools were operated at two locations. Since 1947 the children of migrant farm workers have had the opportunity to attend summer schools in New Jersey each year, with the exception of 1950. During that year funds were not available for this purpose.

TABLE A

NEW JERSEY SUMMER SCHOOLS FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

Year	Number of Schools	Location of Schools	Actual Enrollment
1947	1	Freehold	68
1948	1	Freehold	49
1949	1	Freehold	69
1950	Funds Not Available		
1951	1	Freehold	50
1952	1	Freehold	62
1953	1	Perrineville	106
1954	1	Perrineville	99
1955	2	Freehold and Imlaystown	79
1956	2	Freehold and Roosevelt	110
1957	1	Freehold	73
1958	2	Freehold and Cranbury	100
1959	3	Freehold, Cranbury, Fairton	158
1960	4	Freehold, Cranbury Fairton, Woodstown	236
1961	3	Cranbury, Fairton,Woodstown	268

TABLE A (cont.)

1962	3	Cranbury, Fairton, Woodstown	334
1963	4	Cranbury, Woodstown, Cedarville and Deerfield	365
1964	4	Cranbury, Woodstown, Cedarville and Deerfield	431

Myrtle Townsend, director of the first summer school in Freehold, listed the main objectives of the school as an attempt to give the migrant children as much education as possible. She expanded this by listing the aims as:

> "(1) to help the children catch up on reading and other fundamental skills and (2) to provide an all round program for improved health, good use of leisure and good social relationships. So in addition to the academic aspect, the program should include food, rest, games, educational trips and picnics. Guidance should be given children in improved health practices and in group living."(1)
>
> "The director of the school reported that the teachers found the children's intelligence level quite normal, but their educational achievement an average of one year below, normal for their ages. Reading and writing were found to be especially poor because the children had few opportunities to have books, and these were the skills in which they were most anxious for help. On the other hand, they were especially quick in simple arithmetic because they used arithmetic figuring how much money could be earned by picking so many potatoes or working so many hours". (1)

Prior to 1962 the migrant schools were operated by the Migrant Labor Bureau of the New Jersey Department of Labor with the cooperation of the Department of Education. Since the summer of 1962, the responsibility for the education of migrant children has been with the New Jersey Department of Education. Funds are appropriated each year for this purpose.

During the summer of 1963 the Office of Elementary Education operated summer schools for the children of migrant agricultural workers for a second year. The program was expanded in order to serve more children. During the season, schools were operated in Cranbury, Cedarville, Deerfield Township and Woodstown. The total enrollment in the programs has increased each year for the past five years.

TABLE B

INCREASE IN ENROLLMENT IN NEW JERSEY SUMMER SCHOOLS FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment
1960	4	236
1961	3	268
1962	3	334
1963	4	365
1964	4	431

The four schools were staffed by 4 principals, 18 classroom teachers, 4 registered nurses, 8 day care assistants, 4 cooks and 4 cafeteria helpers.

In addition to the staff listed above, professional health services were provided to the schools by the New Jersey Department of Health. Each school had the services of a physician and a dentist.

As in the past, the programs of the schools were planned to meet the individual needs of the children. Much individual instruction and time to work with small groups was provided.

All four schools operated lunch rooms in which all of the children received a well balanced hot lunch. Each child also received extra milk during the morning. All of the lunch rooms made use of surplus commodities and participated in the National School Lunch program.

Each of the four schools operated day care centers for the children younger than age five. Each day care center was in charge of an experienced, certified person, who was assisted by two teachers in training.

New Jersey's Migrant Workers and Their Children.

The production of seasonal crops in New Jersey is dependent, in part, on hand labor. The success of the agricultural economy requires that workers be available when it is time to plant, cultivate and harvest the crops. Seasonal workers are engaged in agricultural activity from April through November. A large percentage of these workers reside outside of New Jersey during the winter months and are classified by the New Jersey Department of Labor as: contract and non-contract Puerto Ricans, day haul workers from Philadelphia, and southern migrants.

The contract Puerto Rican workers are recruited from Puerto Rico for employment in New Jersey under terms of an agreement between the employers and representatives of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Most of these male workers return to Puerto Rico when they have completed the obligation of their contract.

Other Puerto Ricans come to New Jersey without a contract as "walk-in" workers. These men come directly from Puerto Rico or from other states where they have been employed. Because these workers make their own work arrangments they do not have the protection and obligations of a contract.

According to the Department of Labor, the agricultural industry of New Jersey would face a serious labor shortage without the day-haul crews which come into the state each day from Philadelphia. The crew leaders, who act as independent business men, organize, transport, and supervise the workers. Members of the crews are paid at the end of each work day. This source of labor has advantages which include: elimination of housing and housing costs, a minimum of record keeping, and the crew leaders handle the supervision of the workers.

The southern migrant workers are for the most part members of crews whose home base is in Georgia or Florida. These groups are loosely organized multi-family groups who follow the crops up and down the eastern seaboard. Work commitments for most of these crews are obtained by the crew leaders through the Annual Workers Plan, a program of the United States Employment Service which seeks to provide the maximum amount of employment for migrant crews. The crew leader acts as business agent, provides transportation and supervises the workers.

An average summer will find as many as 20,000 migrant agricultural workers in New Jersey. About half of this number will be adult male Puerto Ricans. Most of the remaining number will be members of family groups who have worked their way to New Jersey in the so-called migrant stream.

The latter group brings with it into the state some 1500 children under the age of 16. About 900 of these children are of school age. They have moved from place to place with their families in pursuit of employment, and in consequence have had limited opportunities of acquiring an education.

The Schools Scholastic and Health Programs

The programs of the schools have been adjusted over the years to more and more of the needs of these children. A day's activities for the 7 to 9 year olds while emphasizing subject matter activities take into account the health social development needs of these children. A typical day begins with a milk period, and then the following periods of the day proceed to:

Show a film and discuss,
Practice writing and numbers,
Engage in individual reading,
Play period, outside,
Drawing, Games, Group and Individual reading,
Individual Reading lesson
Hot lunch,
Numbers period,
Reading and writing,
Music period
Reading period,
Games period,
Reading period,
Art period,
First aid and manners.

A day which at times is interspersed with additional activities arising out of the health program.

In cooperation with the Department of Health, the children participated in a comprehensive health program. The children were given a complete physical examination by the physician. They were weighed and measured at the beginning and end of the school session. They were all tested for tuberculosis. Diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis, and polio immunizations were given to those who had not been previously immunized. This year, fifteen students were vaccinated for smallpox.

The nurses did vision and hearing screening tests and also examined each child with the Woods Light for ringworm of the scalp.

A dentist in each school examined all students, cleaned their teeth, and gave them a fluoride treatment. He also performed other necessary treatment.

This year a special form was used by the nurses in making their final report. Listed below are some of the accomplishments of the migrant school health program:

TABLE C

HEALTH PROGRAM TESTS OF MIGRANT SUMMER SCHOOL CHILDREN IN NEW JERSEY

Number of children weighed and measured	213	
Number gained 1 to 5 pounds		63
Number gained over 5 pounds		24
Number lost 1 to 5 pounds		7
Number lost over 5 pounds		0
Number remained the same		119

Nurses Screening:

Number of vision tests	174
Number retested	11
Number referred for examination and treatment	2
Number requiring and securing treatment	2
Number of hearing tests	150
Number retested	4
Number referred	0
Number requiring treatment	0

Physician's Examination:

Defects	Number	Referred	Secured Treatment
Ear and nose	12	7	7
Throat	23	6	4
Heart	23	5	5
Hernia	16	7	3
Other	15	8	7
Orthopedic	2	0	0
Dental Examination	225	96	96

TABLE C (cont.)

Number treated for skin disease	60
Number examined for ringworm	242
Number found positive	11
Number treated	11
Number referred public health nurse	20
Number immunizations given in school	739
Number tuberculin tested	317
Number read	312
Number positive reactors	10
Number x-rays	14
Positive x-rays	0
Number examined vaccination scar	308
Number previously vaccinated (30%)	96
Vaccinated, 1963	15
Exclusions due to illness or injury	6

The Department of Education conducted an adult education class for migrant workers at the Perkins and DeWilde Farm in Shiloh (Cumberland County) for 20 Puerto Rican men who wished to learn English.

The project was carried on in cooperation with Mr. Anthony Varga of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor Office in Camden, and Dr. Clyde Weinhold, Director of Adult Education, New Jersey Department of Education.

During the summer of 1964 the Department of Education again operated four summer schools for migrant children.

School Location	Classrooms	Day Care Centers	Enrollment
Cranbury	4	1	112
Cedarville	4	1	98
Deerfield	4	1	106
Woodstown	5	1	115

The schools were in operation in the southern part of the State from July 6, 1964 to August 14, 1964. The school in Cranbury was open from July 13, 1964 to August 21, 1964.

A teen-age migrant education project was conducted by the Department of Education in cooperation with staff members of Glassboro State College. The program was under the direction of Dr. Livingston Cross.

An attempt was made to develop creatively a series of teaching-learning experiences derived from the settings and circumstances common to the lives of migrant young people that would help them obtain some measure of knowledge, skills, and attitudes for:

1. Integration into normal school life;
2. Participation as responsible members of the community;
3. Self improvement through simple, but basic learnings in homemaking, pre-vocational arts, family life, health and other areas of life.

This program was conducted "on the farm". Army surplus tents were used as classrooms in two locations, one in Cedarville and one in the Rosenhayn area.

The program was conducted in the lateafternoon and early evening, thus reaching those young people who work in the fields.

Attendance in the summer programs is voluntary. During the regular school year the children of migrant workers, like all others, are required and permitted to attend school in New Jersey.

Thomas H. Bogia
Director, Migrant Schools
New Jersey State Department
of Education

Trenton, New Jersey
August 24, 1964.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ingling, Melissa E. An Evaluation of the Educational Program Offered to the Migrant Children in New Jersey, (unpublished Master's thesis), 1960.

PART I. THE MIGRANT PROBLEM - A SETTING FOR EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

Up to thirty million people in the United States live in varying degrees of impoverishment. Among them are two million persons who live under the most abject conditions of poverty, and who are one of the most underprivileged, and neglected groups in the United States -- the migrant farm workers and their families. These people constitute a special case of the general problem of poverty in the United States. The problem of poverty, its causes and its consequences can best be understood by focusing upon those who have experienced poverty in all of its manifestations. A study of the families of migrant workers reveals much about the trap of poverty and its quicksand grip on its victims; and a study of the children of migrant workers reveals a great deal about the barriers to social mobility and achievement that they encounter. What is more, such a study reveals how strongly imbedded are the attachments to ignorance in social systems such as that of the migrants, and suggests the changes that will be necessary if their children and other underprivileged children are to fullyparticipate in American society and enjoy its advantages and benefits.

The focus of this study will be upon the children of migrant workers in New Jersey, with special emphasis upon Negro migrant children. In this first chapter, however, the migrant situation in general shall be discussed, first in the country as a whole, and then in the State of New Jersey. An attempt shall be made to describe the reasons for the need for migrant workers and the make up of the migrant population, to outline the economic and social situation of the migrants, and in this context to introduce the subject of the children of migrant farm workers. At the conslusion of the chapter some considerations will be offered concerning the matter of responsibility for the education and welfare of the country's migrant population.

1. - MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE U.S.*

There are approximately one-half million domestic migrant farm workers in the United States today, with perhaps another million and a half dependents. At some time of the year they are to be found, in varying numbers, in 47 of the 50 states. An estimated one-third (943) of the counties in the country have 100 or more migrants at work in them at the peak of the normal crop season. California, Michigan, and Texas annually use over 50,000 domestic migrant workers each in peak season, and New York, Oregon, and Florida use 20,000 or more. (These figures do not include dependents.) Twenty-four states use over 5,000 domestic migrant workers, and a total of 39 use more than 1000. It should thus be clear that the migrant problem, far from being a problem of only a few states, is a national problem in which nearly all states share. But this should be obvious from the fact that the great majority of migrants live and work in more than one state in the course of the year.

Why and Who

The need for migrant workers is a result of labor market conditions and the harvesting mechanization lag with respect to many vegetables and fruits, and to some extent, other crops. Because machines have not been developed to harvest many of these crops, or because many farmers are not satisfied with, or are not able to afford, harvesting machines that have been developed for use in them, these crops at present must be harvested by hand. This means that for short periods of the year in many parts of the country, hired farm workers are in critical demand. Since these periods are short, the requisite help cannot be sustained locally throughout the year, and therefore must be sought where it can be found. It can generally be found only in areas where there are workers lacking other employment, who are willing both to leave their homes and travel considerable distances to the available work, and to do the kind of work involved for the kind of wages that are paid. These workers are known as migrants. Migrants include both those who work for short periods on a series of jobs to which they move one after the other, traveling thousands of miles and working in many states, and those who might more properly be classed as semi-migrants, living in one place six to nine months of the year, and then moving to another for the rest of the year, at which they do farm wage work. Many New Jersey migrants fall into this category.

---

* The data in this section of this chapter draws on the following publications:
Hired Farm Workers in the United States, U.S. Dept. of Labor, June, 1961.
Farm Labor Fact Book, U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1959.
Hearings before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor on S.521-6; April 10, 23, 24, 1963.

It was not too long ago that the country's migrant population consisted largely of "Okies" and "Arkies", Orientals, and recently arrived European immigrants. Today, however, these groups have been replaced for the most part by three others: Mexican-Americans, Southern Negroes, and (primarily Southern) poor whites. There are also several other smaller domestic groups, such as Indians, and a considerable number -- several hundred thousand -- of foreign workers, as well as some "Okies" and "Arkies" still in the stream.

The Mexican-Americans constitute the largest group; for the most part they reside during the winter in the southern parts of California and Texas. While a few white and Negro migrants also winter in these areas, most live in Southern Florida during the winter months. They winter where they do not only because they frequently originate in these areas, but also because there is some farm work to be done there during the winter, while there is none available elsewhere. Many migrants, however, are almost completely unemployed during these months.

The Migrant "Streams"

There are five major migrant "streams" which most migrants follow out of these areas into other areas in the spring. One does not involve any extensive migration of families: this is the wheat and small grains harvest movement, in which combine crews move from Texas up the grain belt to North Dakota, Montana and even Canada. About 50,000 men, most Mexican-American, follow this stream each year.

Two other steams also lead out of Texas. The Southwest cotton harvest movement begins there and then expands into the southwestern states, ultimately reaching as far as California. Lasting from July to late December, this movement involves some 100,000 workers, for the most part Mexican-Americans. The other movement is the sugarbeet and fruit movement, lasting from April through October. Beginning in Texas, one branch fans out in the Mountain States, moving as far as the Pacific Northwest, while the other ends in Michigan and Wisconsin. This movement, largely of Mexican-Americans, involves over 75,000 workers each year.

A fourth stream followed by Mexican-Americans is the West Coast

Stream. Approximately 100,000 workers move from Southern California northward as far as Washington, harvesting fruits and vegetables. This movement begins in May and lasts through December.

The fifth stream begins in Southern Florida, and is known as the East Coast Stream. When the Florida winter harvest is in and crops to the north are ripening, this movement of over 50,000 domestic workers extends through the Southeastern States as far norbh as New York, with some workers even reaching New England. It recedes in the fall, until by December it is localized in Florida again. Made up primarily of Negroes intermixed with numbers of whites, this movement harvests a wide variety of crops, from fruits, berries and vegetables, to cotton and tobacco. New Jersey Negro migrant workers are part of this stream.

These streams are swelled by several hundred thousand foreign workers each year. The first four receive a great influx of Mexican workers, while a large number of Puerto Ricans enter the East Coast Stream. These puerto Ricans are known as "walk-ins", to differentiate them from Puerto Rican "contract workers", who come each year from Puerto Rico to pre-arranged jobs in specific areas. These two Puerto Rican groups are the two largest migrant worker groups in New Jersey.

Employment Opportunities and Earnings

Although harvesting mechanization is slow in coming to most of the crops migrants work, it is nevertheless true that it has made advances over the past decade and will continue to do so, at a steady if not an increasing rate. This is reflected in the fact that general employment in agriculture fell 27% between 1950 and 1960, from 15 billion to 11 billion man-hours. It is further estimated that by

1965 it will have fallen to 9 billion, and that it will continue to fall in the forseeable future.

This means that employment opportunities for migrants are declining and will continue to decline. Their numbers, however, have not declined, but rather have increased -- by one third, between 1952 and 1959. Moreover, Secretary Celebrezze has testified that all information available to him indicates that their numbers are not likely to decline in the forseeable future. The results of these two trends toward fewer jobs and more workers are not hard to imagine: they compound the distress of this already vastly underprivileged, under-employed group.

Available figures bear this out. In 1954, the average migrant worker who worked more than 25 days, worked a total of 124 days on farm jobs -- hardly one-third of the year. Little though this may be, it is more than in 1961, in which year the average worker working more than 25 days found only 109 days of farm work. This decline of 12 per cent in days of work was matched by a decline of 14.7 per cent in average annual farm work earnings, from $794. to $677. Even the earnings of the average migrant at non-farm jobs declined, from $239 to $225; and thus his total average annual earnings fell 12.6 per cent from $1,033. to $902 -- the lowest, according to Senator H. A. Williams, in the entire American economy; and it should be kept in mind that the purchasing power of the dollar has also declined, with the result that the migrant has lost even more ground than this in purchasing power. As long as his wages are not considerably indreased, the two trends mentioned above seem determined to produce an even further decline in days worked and annual earnings in the near future.

A few contrasts may be in order. The average factory worker now earns over $20 a day; the average migrant, when working, earns approximately $6.25 a day.* The factory worker works full weeks, months, and a full year, while the migrant worker has work less than one day in three. The result is that the factory worker -- with much better hours, working conditions, and side benefits -- makes approximately five times more than the average migrant in the course of the year. And of course, there are many blue-collar workers that are better paid than factory workers.

It should be noted that most factory workers are paid by the hour, whereas virtually all migrant workers are paid for the number of units they harvest. Further, factory workers doing piece work are usually guaranteed a high hourly minimum wage, whereas few if any migrants have any such guarantee. The result is that the pressure to work hard and fast is much greater on the migrant than on the factory worker; and therefore, inevitably, the migrant works harder -- and, it should be added, much longer; the factory worker's $20 represents 7 to 8 hours of work, whereas the migrant worker's $6.25 represents up to four more hours of work. Thus the migrant worker must work longer and harder than the factory worker if he is to make even a third as much as the latter makes in a day.

Migrant workers know that their work opportunities and annual earnings are decreasing, and they have at least a general idea that other workers earn more than they do, and that they have to work longer and harder than many other workers. But they remain in farm wage work because they are at the very bottom of the socioeconomic ladder and lack the

* In New Jersey the average is $7. a day.

means of upward mobility. Largely (or "functionally") illiterate, with poor mastery of standard English, without any skills other than those relating to crop harvesting by hand, and in most cases, handicapped by inferior racial or ethnic status, migrants are unable to find any work other than farm wage work. And their numbers increase because they are quite prolific, and at the same time are unable to provide their children with the prerequisites of upward mobility; with the result that their children grow up knowing only the way of life of their parents, and equipped only for it.

The Children of Migrant Workers

The one-half million migrant workers in the U.S. have a nearly equal number of children under 14 years of age, of which slightly more than one-third are Negro. Perhaps 150,000 accompany their parents on the road, while the rest remain with friends or relatives at the family's winter base. Many of the former accompany their parents in order to find farm employment themselves, thereby helping to meet family financial needs, In fact, it would seem that one reason some families have become migrants is precisely in order that the children may work.* A recent Texas study reports: "The size of the family is associated with the need to migrate. When the family becomes too large for the earnings of one worker to support them all, he looks for work in which other members can contribute to the family income."[1] Immediate needs are thus met, but the children's futures are also thus shaped. Many migrant parents know this and regret the educational sacrifice, but feel their situation is desperate enough that it admits of no alternative. Many of the children who remain at the winter base do so because they are not old enough to work in the fields, but begin to accompany their parents as soon as they are.

---

* This matter is discussed in detail in Chapter X, The Ecomomic Barriers to the Continuance of Education.

"Old enough" here means, not legally old enough, but physically able. Child labor laws in many states either do not apply to migrant children and agricultural workers, or are full of loop-holes, or simply are not enforced; and economic necessity provides parents with ample motivation to evade them when possible. It is frequently possible because states are generally more concerned with their crops than with their harvesters, and permit both the employment of children and the economic hardship that prompts it to exist.

This is an example of the general exclusion of migrants -- adults and children -- from most social and labor legislation; and residency requirements also serve to render them ineligible for most health and welfare services. They have been called the "excluded Americans" for good reason; for not only are they excluded from the main avenues of American society, but also from the various programs which are very nearly prerequisites of any full participation in it: social security, minimum wage guarantees, unemployment compensation, health insurance, and most unfortunately, public education that is both sound and complete through the secondary level.

The "Migrant Problem"

It would be difficult to imagine a more completely disadvantaged group than migrant workers and their families. At the root of their situation are two facts: that they are one of the most poorly educated groups in the country, and that they are one of the most under-employed and poorly paid groups in the country. These are two results of their exclusion from the above-mentioned programs. These facts and that exclusion explain much else of their situation: their poor diet, their ignorance of basic health rules and poor health, their high birth and infant mortality rates, their relatively short life expectancy, their miserable housing and sanitation facilities, their unjust expliotation by some crew leaders and farmers who take advantage of their illiteracy and desperation, their encouragement of child labor at the expense of education, and in general their grinding porverty, which makes life unhappy at best and the prospect of disablement and old age unbearable.

The "migrant problem" is a two-fold problem; it is a problem of disadvantaged, underprivileged individuals, and it is a socio-economic problem. The former -- and perhaps the most important -- aspect of the problem should be obvious; for anyone whose situation is similar to the one described above is clearly in need of help; and, given the emphasis out culture places on the intrinsic dignity and worth of the individual, any such individual is deserving of help, because he is deserving of a better life.

The socioeconomic aspect of the migrant problem is also important. As harvesters of so many important crops, migrant farm workers play an important role in American society. As their numbers increase and their usefulness decreases, and/or, if their condition remains unchanged, they will become an increasing burden upon the society and economy, a canker if not a cancer. In the words of Secretary Wirtz: "These people are tragic figures as individuals. They are also very poor producers. They are also very poor consumers, and they are in general not tax payers at all. It takes nothing whatsoever away from the purpose to help these people as individuals if we recognize that by doing so we will strengthen the economy."[2]

Six bills have been introduced into the U.S. Senate, each dealing with specific facets of the general migrant problem. Similar bills have been introduced into the Senate in recent years, but few have gotten beyond the stage of subcommittee hearings. The current six -- S.521-526 -- relate to: (1) education of migrant adults and children, (2) day-care services for migrant children, (3) agricultural child labor protection, (4) regulation of agricultural labor contractors (crew leaders), (5) establishment of a National Advisor Council on Migratory Labor, and (6) adequate sanitation facilities for migrant workers. Much time and thought have gone into these bills, and advice has been received from all quarters; one need only peruse the subcommittee hearings on the bills to be satisfied of this. It is to be hoped that they will be enacted into law; for, inadequate as they are, they at least represent the beginning of an attack upon the problem. Other measures are necessary if the root of the problem is to be attacked, however;* the education bill provides only for pilot projects which depart but little from existing educational programs, and it appears that only federal action will be able to establish wage levels for hired farm labor such that migrants will be able to achieve a decent standard of living.

---

* Cf Chapter XI, The Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility.

The Puerto Rican Program

It would seem that the states and federal government could profit greatly by consulting the Puerto Rican migrant program, for there is much in it to be emulated. It provides that all farmers recruiting workers from Puerto Rico must subscribe to an agreement, the provisions of which insure certain minimum standards for the worker. It might be relevant to cite part of the testimony of Frank Zorilla, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, given in Hearings on Bill S.1129 (1961-1962), in which he describes the Puerto Rico program.[3]

> 'Some of the provisions are a guarantee of 160 hours of work in each four week period, wages paid at not less than those prevailing in the area, a ceiling on the cost of meals served by the employer and a requirement that the food meet acceptable standards of diet and variety, a statement of withholdings and earnings to be given to the worker, a guarantee of no discrimination in employment, housings or in any regard because of race, color, creed, and freedom to join or participate in labor union activity, proper housing including clean bedding, protection of the worker against on-the-job injury through workmen's compensation coverage ...
> Also, I would like to mention that apart from the agreement our department of labor has developed some social approaches as part of its program to protect the worker and insure against his being a public charge."

Puerto Rico also supports health and accident programs covering the workers while not on the job, and instructional and recreational programs among the migrants. In short, it has set standards which, though they may be less than ideal, are vastly higher than those existing in the rest of the country. Migrants who make their homes in the states should be guaranteed the same rights and security as their Puerto Rican co-workers: This is a tangible, realistic goald to be set in dealing with the migrant problem.

II. - MIGRANT WORKERS IN NEW JERSEY

Turning to the migrant farm worker situation in New Jersey, it appears that New Jersey is one of the ten greatest users of migrant workers in the country. If British West Indian and Puerto Rican contract workers are omitted and only domestic workers are considered, New Jersey ranked 10th in 1962, using approximately 12,500 workers. It ranked 7th, if domestic and other workers are totaled for all states. As was mentioned above, it is in the East Coast migrant stream, and thus derives most of its non-contract migrant workers from it. The agricultural demands of the state are such that, as was also mentioned previously, most workers remain in one place, rather than working around the state.

Agricultural Background[4]

Before examining the numbers of migrants in New Jersey more closely, it might be useful to discuss the agricultural situation in the state in which the need for migrants arises. Farm production in 1963 in New Jersey was worth 297.8 million dollars according to the "Annual Farm Labor Report" of the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry. The report places the following values on the various commodities: vegetables, $68.3 million; poultry products, $65.9 million; milk, $60.2 million; grain and hay, $32.3 million; nursery and greenhouse products, $31.5 million, fruit and berries, $22.6 million; meat animals, $14.6 million; and miscellaneous farm products, $2.4 million.

Most farmers in the state grow two or more crops; one-crop farms are rare. Garden State farms produce every crop the climate will allow.

A constant ready market for the crops of New Jersey farms is insured by the location of the state in the densely populated metropolitan area between New York City and Philadelphia.

The Annual Farm Labor Report for 1963 states the following:

> "Agricultural acreage which comprises less than one-third of the land of New Jersey -- the fifth smallest state in the nation -- is decreasing. Increasing operating costs coupled with unfavorable market prices have caused a number of growers to accept the attractive prices offered for their land by residential and industrial developers. Besides those yielding to urbanization, some small marginal farms have been absorbed by larger and more efficient farming operations. This reduction in the number of farms and farm acreage will continue.
>
> "Despite the retrenchment of farms and farmland, agricultural production has not been affected. Increased acreage yields brought about by improved growing methods and technological developments have enabled farm production to keep pace with the loss of farmland."

It is thus expected that New Jersey farms will be larger but fewer in number in the future.

In 1962, New Jersey was the sixth leading producer in the U.S. of principle vegetables for processing and seventh, for fresh market. It was second in fresh spinach, egg plant, beets, asparagus, third in lima beans and tomatoes, fifth in fresh lettuce and cucumbers, and sixth in fresh snap beans. Its fruit crops are of similar importance: in 1962 it was the leading producer in the country of blueberries, and was third in cranberries, fourth in strawberries, and fifth in peaches.

Fruit and vegetable production consitutes two-thirds of the gross value of all crop production in New Jersey. The state's three leading vegetables in terms of value of production are tomatoes, asparagus, and lettuce, in that order. The four leading fruits are peaches, apples, blueberries, and cranberries. All of these crops are at present harvested largely by hand; and this means that the migrant worker plays a very important role in New Jersey agriculture.

It is not a growing role, however; for considerations of harvesting mechanization aside, there is simply not an increasing amount of work for the migrant in New Jersey. It is a realtively safe assumption that crop production is a good barometer of the available work; and as the following table indicates, crop production has not significantly increased in recent years. The crops listed are the leading ones mentioned in the preceding paragraph. (Crop totals include harvests for both processing and fresh market.)

TABLE I-1

SELECTED NEW JERSEY CROPS: PRODUCTION AT 3-YEAR INTERVALS

CROP	1956 (In thousands)	1959 (In thousands)	1962 (In thousands)
Tomatoes	1168.2 cwt	936.4 cwt	1200.2 cwt
Asparagus	715. "	788. "	658. "
Lettuce	860. "	731. "	736. "
Peaches	2052. bu.	2294. bu.	2296. bu.
Apples	2975. "	3210. "	2782. "
Blueberries	7020 qts.	8784 qts.	9936 qts.
Cranberries	73. bbls.	53.6 bbls.	103. bbls.*

* 1963: 65.6 bbls.

This Table not only gives an indication that New Jersey agriculture generally speaking has not provided work for an increasing migrant worker population, but also indicates the extent to which work opportunities are uncertain even for a stable population. It is also significant that, according to the USDA Statistical Reporting Service, the number of farms in New Jersey fell 4% between 1961 and 1962; this is not only a large figure in itself, but is also larger than the national figure of 3.2 %.

New Jersey Migrant Population

Given this agricultural situation, it is not surprising to discover that the peak number of migrant workers employed in the state declined from 25,003 in 1958 to 21,871 in 1963 -- a drop of 12.5%.* The following table presents the yearly totals and fluctuations in that period.

TABLE I-2

MAXIMUM NUMBER OF MIGRANT WORKERS USED IN NEW JERSEY, 1958-1963

Year	Total	I or D*	% I or D
1958	25,003		
1959	22,956	-2047	-8.2%
1960	20,890	-2066	-9.1%
1961	22,316	+1426	+6.8%
1962	21,926	-490	-1.7
1963	21,871	-55	-0.2%

* Increase or Decrease

This total, which averaged 22,494 in this period, consisted of a large number of Puerto Ricans (an average of 15,564 or 69.2%), a much smaller number of Negroes (an average of 5383 or 23.9%), some whites (an average of 1229, or 5.5%), and several hundred others, mainly British West Indians. Their numbers and fluctuations are given in the following table.

TABLE I-3

VARIOUS GROUPS OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN N.J., 1958-63

Year	Total		% I or D	% of T
		Puerto Rican		
1958	25,003	16,980		67.8
1959	22,956	15,758	-7.2	68.6
1960	20,890	14,908	-5.4	71.3
1961	22,316	15,411	+3.4	69.1
1962	21,926	15,228	-1.2	69.6
1963	21,871	15,098	-0.8	68.8
			-11.1 (% I or D '58-'63)	
		Negro		
1958	25,003	6,436		25.8
1959	22,956	5,792	-10.0	25.2
1960	20,890	4,602	-20.6	22.0
1961	22,316	5,364	+16.1	24.0
1962	21,926	4,991	-6.9	22.7
1963	21,871	5,115	+2.5	23.4
			-20.5 (%I or D '58-'63)	
		White		
1958	25,003	1,121		4.5
1959	22,956	1,016	-9.4	4.4
1960	20,890	1,098	+8.1	5.3
1961	22,316	1,361	+23.8	6.1
1962	21,926	1,446	+6.2	6.6
1963	21,871	1,330	-8.0	6.1
			+18.6 (% I or D '58-'63)	

TABLE I-3 (cont.)

Other

Year	Total		% I or D	% of T
1958	25,003	1,466		1.9
1959	22,956	390		1.8
1960	20,890	292		1.4
1961	22,316	180		0.8
1962	21,926	261		1.2
1963	21.871	328		1.5

It is misleading, however, to consider the Puerto Ricans to be a single homogenous group. As was suggested above, two sub-groups must be distinguished, each larger than any other non-Puerto Rican New Jersey migrant worker group: "contract" workers and "walk-in" workers. Contract workers are workers contracted for from Puerto Rico, who come directly to New Jersey to pre-arranged jobs, usually without their families, and who return directly to Puerto Rico at the end of the harvesting season. (Most British West Indian workers are also contract workers.) Walk-in workers, in the other hand, come to the farms from various places, for the most part as part of the East Coast migrant stream. They are usually not members of crews, as most Negroes and whites are, and like many Negroes, often have their families with them.

Figures on the two groups of Puerto Ricans are available only for the last three years; in this period, however, as the following table shows, contract workers have considerably outnumbered walk-in workers, although the numbers of the former have been decreasing, while those of the latter have been increasing.

TABLE I-4

CONTRACT AND WALK-IN PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN N.J. 1961-63

Year	Grand Total	Puerto Rican Total	Contract	%I-D	%ofT	%of GT*
1961	22,316	15,411	9,063		58.8	40.6
1962	21,926	15,228	8,684	-4.2	57.0	39.6
1963	21,871	15,098	8,299	-4.4	54.9	37.6
				-8.4 (% I or D '61-63)		
			Walk-In			
1961	22,316	15,411	6,348		41.2	28.4
1962	21,926	15,228	6,544	+3.1	43.0	29.8
1963	21,871	15,098	6,799	+3.9	45.1	31.0
				+7.1 (% I or D '61-63)		

* Grand Total of Migrant Workers in New Jersey

Of every ten migrant workers in New Jersey, therefore, seven are Puerto Ricans, of whom four are contract workers and three are walk-ins; two are Negroes, and one is either a white or a British West Indian. The total percentage of Puerto Ricans seems to be remaining much the same, although walk-in workers are apparently gradually replacing contract workers. The percentage of whites would seem to be increasing slowly, while the percentage of Negroes appears to be gradually falling. In terms of numbers rather than percentages of the total, however, the situation is rather different. The number of Puerto Ricans has fallen by more than a tenth between 1958 and 1963. The decrease has come largely if not wholly among the contract workers. The number of Negroes has declined by 20% in that period. The only ethnic group whose numbers have increased at all, much less significantly, is the white groups, which was nearly 20% as large in 1963 as it had been in 1958. (While the number of Puerto Rican walk-ins increased by 7% between 1961 and 1963, it is not known if it increased or fell in the years 1958-1960, in which the total number of Puerto Ricans fell by approximately 1000 each year.)

Migrant Children in New Jersey

Since contract Puerto Ricans generally are not accompanied by their families, one would not expect the same ratios to exist among Puerto Rican, Negro and white migrant children in New Jersey that exist among workers. The ratio of Puerto Rican walk-in workers to Negro to white workers over the years under discussion was roughly 6:5:1; one would expect, therefore, that there would have been nearly equal numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican migrant children in New Jersey, with a sprinkling of white children.

In fact, however, the situation was rather different. There were, to be sure, only a sprinkling of white children; but Negro children considerably outnumbered Puerto Rican children in every age group (1-4, 5-11, 12-15), in every year for which figures are available for the three age groups (1960-1963). In the older age group (12-15), in which children are legally permitted to get work permits and to work in the field, Negro children have on the average outnumbered Puerto Rican children by a ratio of nearly five to one, and white children by more than eight to one, as the following table indicates.

TABLE I-5

12-15 YEAR OLD MIGRANT CHILDREN IN NEW JERSEY, 1960-63

Year	Total	Negro	%	PR	%	White	%
1960	170	126	74.2	24	14.1	20	11.7
1961	225	180	80.0	32	14.3	13	5.8
1962	246	207	84.2	39	15.8	0	0.0
1963	335	225	67.2	56	16.7	54	16.1
Average	244	185	75.8	39	16.0	22	9.2
Increase '60-'63	97%	78.5%		133%		170%	

The total number of older children may be seen to have doubled between 1960 and 1963, with the number of Puerto Rican and white older children more than doubling(although the white figures are too erratic to indicate a definite trend). The number of older Negro children less than doubled, but increased by 99, over against the Puerto Rican increase of 32.

The ratio of Negro to Puerto Rican school-aged (5-11 year old) children, although still gfeater than 2:1, was on the average smaller in this period than was the aratio among older children. This may be seen in Table I-6.

TABLE I-6

5-11 YEAR OLD MIGRANT CHILDREN IN NEW JERSEY, 1960-63

Year	Total	Negro	%	PR	%	White	%
1960	442	239	54.0	121	27.4	82	18.6
1961	654	460	70.3	177	27.1	17	2.6
1962	591	429	72.6	153	25.9	9	1.5
1963	641	390	60.8	205	32.0	46	7.2
Average	582	380	65.9	164	28.4	33	5.7
I or D '60-'63	45%	63.2%		69.4%		-43.8%	

There were half again as many 5-11 year old migrant children in New Jersey in 1963 than there were in 1960 -- a considerable percentage increase, if not as great as that of older children, and a considerably greater absolute increase. However, unlike the increase of older children this one was not steady; in fact, the 1961 total was greater than that of 1963. (Once again, white figures are too erratic to reveal a definite pattern.) Roughly speaking, both Negroes and Puerto Ricans in this age group increased by two-thirds between 1960 and 1963. There was an average of nearly 140% more children in this age group in New Jersey in these years than in the older age group, which is considerably more than the difference in the age span of the two groups would account for.

The average number of younger migrant children (1-4 years old) was even greater than the number of grade school-aged migrant children: the former numbered 825, or 42% more than the latter's average of 582, (and 238% more than the average number of older children, 244).

TABLE I-7

1-4 YEAR OLD MIGRANT CHILDREN IN NEW JERSEY, 1960-63

Year	Total	Negroes	%	PR	%	White	%
1960	702	405	57.7	252	35.8	45	6.5
1961	881	544	61.7	323	36.7	14	1.6
1962	746	460	61.7	282	37.8	4	0.5
1963	969	541	55.8	379	39.1	49	5.1
Average	825	488	59.2	309	37.4	28	3.4
Inc. '60-'63	38%	33.6%		50.4%		8.9%	

Here again, the increase was not steady, and the 1961 Negro total was greater (though only slightly) than the 1963 total. The overall increase of 38% was less than the increase in the other age groups, though it must be remembered that there were as many children in this age group as in the other two combined; in absolute numbers, the increase of 269 children in the younger group was greater than the increase in either the school-aged (199) or older (165) group.

The ratio of Negroes to Puerto Ricans in this youngest group, while still favoring the Negroes by a six to four margin, is smaller than in either of the other two age groups. In this age group as in all others, Puerto Rican children accounted for a higher percentage of the totals than they did in 1960.

In light of the fact that the number of white workers increased by nearly one-third between 1960 and 1962, it is difficult to account for the sharp decrease in the number of white children in all age groups in these years. The equally sharp increase in all age groups in 1963 may be accounted for more easily, however, by the fact that in 1963 there was an influx of 100 Russian workers into the New Jersey migrant force, bringing with them 25 children in each age group. However, this would still leave the rather sharp increase in each age group from nearly none to 20 or 30 to be accounted for. But it bears repeating that only a small fraction of New Jersey migrant children are white, just as are only a small fraction of the migrant workers in the state.

It may be wondered at that over this four year period, an average of nearly 5400 Negro migrant workers brought with them an average of only 1050 children under 16 years of age, and that an average of over 6550 Puerto Rican walk-ins would be accompanied by an average of only 510 children under 16. Both surely have many more children than this, even allowing many to be single.* One can only conclude that many childrenare left with friends or relatives at home bases, while parents come to New Jersey to work during the summer months.

Summary

This then is New Jersey's migrant population at the peak of the April-November crop season: roughly 22,500 migrant workers, of whom between 9,000 and 10,000 are foreign contract workers from Puerto Rico and the British West Indies, the great majority of tHs number being from the former. Of the remaining 13,000 or so, half are Puerto Rican walk-ins. This leaves some 6500 workers, of whom all but about 1200 are Negroes; the remainder are whites. The total has declined slightly in recent years. The contract Puerto Rican and Negro subtotals have declined noticeably, while there have been increases among the whites and Puerto Rican walk-ins.

---

* Cf the Migrant Family, Chapter III; the 60 Negro women interviewed for that chapter had 194 children 16 and under with them. If this population is representative, the 1050 Negro children could be accounted for by as few as 300 women; but there are known to be many times this many migrant Negro women in New Jersey in harvest season, including an average of 1000 not classified as workers.

These workers are accompanied each year by an increasing number of children. The number of 12-16 year old children doubled between 1960 and 1963, reaching a total of 335, of whom two-thirds were Negro. There were half again as many (641) 5-12 year old children in 1963 as in 1960, of whom three in five were Negro. And finally, in the most numerous group -- the 1 to 5 year olds -- there was an increase of 267 children (38%) to total of 969 from 1960 to 1963, of whome considerably more than half were Negro. Most of the non-Negro children were Puerto Rican, who, while decidedly in the minority, show signs of gaining on the Negro majority.

This trend of a rapidly increasing number of school-aged migrant children coming to New Jersey for the summer months has a definite implication for the summer school program sponsored by the state for such children; for it means that the program must expand equally rapidly if itis to continue to reach even the same proportion of the migrant children in the state as it has previously. In the summer of 1963 there were approximately 1000 migrant children in New Jersey who were in the three to twelve year age group the summer schools are intended to serve. This is nearly half again the number 0f this age group in 1960; and the number is likely to be half again as large by

1966 or 1967 as it was in 1963. Summer school facilities at present cover only a fraction of the total number of children; and as long as they are not expanded, the fraction grows smaller every year.

* * *

The following chapters should make clear the inadequacy of existing educational programs in which migrants are included and the need for action along these lines, with particular reference to Negro migrant children in New Jersey. Various dimensions of migrant society shall be analyzed, with separate chapters devoted to the structure of the migrant family and various obstacles in migrant society to social and economic advancement. The factors affecting scholastic performance shall be outlined, the views of the childrens' summer school teachers shall be presented, and the children's performance on intelligence tests and general school performance shall be discussed. Their educational expectations shall also be examined. Finally, several programs shall be suggested which might provide migrant children with the prerequisites of such advancement.

FOOTNOTES

1. Metzler, W. H. and Sargent, F. O., "Incomes of Migratory Agricultural Workers", Texas Ag. Experimental Station, Bulletin 950, March, 1950 3-126 p.3.

2. Statement before Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor Hearings on S. 521-6, p. 28, 1963.

3. The text of the Puerto Rican agreement is printed on pp. 539-542 of the Record of Hearings on that Bill; Zorilla's testimony is presented on pp. 610-611.

4. Sources of information in this section: 1962 New Jersey Agricultural Statistics, New Jersey Crop Reporting Service, Trenton, New Jersey. April, 1963; and 1963 New Jersey Farm Labor Report, New Jersey Dept. of Labor and Industry, Trenton, New Jersey.

Chapter II

A PROFILE OF MIGRANT SCHOOL CHILDREN

The Summer Schools

In the summer of 1962 the State of New Jersey operated three summer schools for migrant children, in Fairton, Cranbury, and Woodstown. The schools were staffed with regular school teachers from the area, many of whom teach in the same schools during the regular school year. The summer school principals also each taught a class.

In 1963 there were four migrant summer schools, one each in Cranbury, Woodstown, Rosenhayn (Deerfield School), and Cedarville. The latter two schools drew from roughly the same area as had the Fairton School the previous summer. Teachers were recruited in the same manner as in 1962, and many were repeaters from the previous year. One difference was that the principals no longer had classroom duty, and were able to devote themselves to administrative functions; one implemented his own individual reading and reading test program.

It is of interest to note the extent to which the summer schools were effective in enrolling the migrant children in those counties sending them to the schools. (Because of transportation problems and the distances involved, only some counties were able to send migrant children residing in them to the schools.) The five- to 11-year-old age group would be the best one to examine, since at the age of 12 children can legally work in the fields. In light of the financial situation of most migrant families it is quite understandable that migrant parents would be reluctant to send children of 12 or older to summer school.* There were, however, a fair number of 12-year-olds in attendance, as well as some 13-, 14-, and 15-year-olds. At the other end of the age range, children under five are below kindergarten age; and while the summer schools provided a nursery school program for younger children, it was not taken advantage of as widely as was the grade school-level program.

Including all age groups, there were 334 migrant children enrolled in the summer schools in 1962, and 360 in 1963. In 1963 there were 1160 children under 16 in the six "sending" counties, and of the children between five and 11, the summer schools managed to reach 44 per cent. In all of New Jersey in 1963 there were 1945 migrant children under 16, 976 of whom were between the ages of five and 15. Exact figures are not available on the number who were three or four, but it is estimated that there were more than 1500 children in the three-to-15 age group the summer schools are intended to serve. The schools managed to reach only 24 per cent of this total.**

TABLE II ·1

MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SENDING COUNTIES AND IN N. J.

	By Age		
Area County	1-4 years	5-11 years	12-15 years
6 "Sending" Counties	860	599	281
Total in New Jersey	969	641	355

---

*Cf. Chapter X, "Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education."

**Cf. Figures on the migrant population in New Jersey cited in this chapter are taken from the N. J. Dept. of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Migrant Labor's 1963 statistical Report; Cf. Chapter I "The People Who Follow the Crops".

The children were divided into classes, primarily by chronological age; however, achievement, maturity, and other related factors were taken into account in placing them. Thus a nine-year-old could be placed in either of the two upper grades, Intermediate and Senior. The population interviewed in this study was drawn from these two grades; the former covered ages seven through nine and grades one through three, while the latter covered ages nine and older and grades three and above.

Registration at each of the schools for the Intermediate and Senior classes averaged a little over twenty; however, absences brought the average daily attendance in each down to a little below twenty. The teachers usually divided the classes into groups because of the wide range of ability and achievement among the children in them. While a teacher worked with one group, the others would play games, or in a few instances, read.

The Children

The sample of children drawn from these schools for this study consisted of 169 children, ranging in age from seven to 15. However, most of the sample was between eight and 12; there were only two seven-year-olds, and only 16 children over 12. The 169 children came from 115 families. Ninety of the children were girls, and 79 were boys; 79 were Intermediates, while 90 were Seniors. Those at the Woodstown school in both summers were predominantly Puerto Rican, while those at the other schools were nearly all Negro. In the total sample of students 44 were Puerto Rican and 121 were Negro, while only four were Anglos. (Language was a considerable problem, for many of the Puerto Rican children spoke little or no English, and only one teacher spoke

Spanish; thus interpreters had to be relied upon constantly in the Woodstown School.)

TABLE II -2

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF CHILDREN INTERVIEWED, BY SCHOOL (1962-1963)

School	Puerto Ricans	Ethnic Background Negroes	Whites	Total
Cedarville	--	16	--	16
Cranbury	--	44	--	44
Deerfield	4	23	--	27
Fairton	--	33	2	35
Woodstown	40	5	2	47
Total	44	121	4	169

Seventy-eight of the children interviewed during the summers of 1962 and 1963 had attended the summer school in which they were enrolled the summer before. Fourteen others had gone to summer school in some other area (ten in Florida). Eight had not gone to winter school at all since the previous summer.

Pupil turnover in the summer schools was considerable. Information is available concerning the school attendance of 174 children in the summer schools in 1962 and 1963 who were eight years old or older and who were interviewed either formally or informally by the staff of this study. This number (174) is used in the calculation of turnover and represents nearly all of the students in this age group attending the summer schools during 1962 and 1963.

In 1962 there were 82 children eight years of age or over who attended the summer school and were contacted by the staff of this study. In 1963, 32 (39%) of these returned. There were 49 new students in this age group in 1963. (In addition there were also 43 returnees who were now old enough (8) to be included in this sample, making a total of 92 students in this group in 1963). In 1962 only 12 (15%) of the original 82 students returned. Thirty-one (34%) of the 92 students eight years old or older in 1963 returned. Thus there appears to be a turnover of nearly two-thirds within this age group each year. Only a very small percentage of these children attended the summer schools for as many as three consecutive summers.

The implications of this situation should be clear. The summer schools can do little enough if they can work with the children each summer; but they can do little at all with them in only one short summer session. The reason for this turnover is not simply that most families do not return to the same area each year, for a substantially greater proportion of them do return, than send their children back to summer school. No systematic study was made along these lines, but project interviewers on visits to the camps saw considerable numbers of former summer school students who no longer attended. Most of them no longer attended for only one reason: they had to work, either in the fields, or baby-sitting at home. The complaint of one of the summer school principals would appear to have considerable justification: He noted that many immigrant parents use the summer schools as day-care centers for their younger children, until they were old enough to be productive workers (i.e., eleven or so).

The Families

Most of the families of children interviewed were migrants from Florida* or some other Southern Coastal state, although a few were permanent residents of various New Jersey migrant camps.

TABLE II-3

STATE ORIGINS OF MIGRANT FAMILIES

State	Number	Percent
Florida	78	76%
Other Southern States	8	8%
Puerto Rico	1	1%
Northern States	15	15%
Total	102	100%

Seven of the 15 families making their home in the North are Puerto Rican, while eight are Negro; five of the Negro families live in the Cranbury area, and all but one live in the camps all year, as do the seven Puerto Rican families.

Eighty-six per cent of the families of children interviewed are from the south, and migrate to the North each spring. They leave their home bases in May or early June, and come to New Jersey by bus or car, making

*Mainly from four counties: Broward, Dale, Palm Beach, and St. John's.

the trip in roughly two days, with few stops along the way. Most are brought by crew leaders in busses; their baggage is either shipped or taken in the crew leader's truck, if he has one. Established crew leaders frequently come back to the same farm each year; according to one of them, however, they have a 20 to 30 per cent turnover in their crews each year.

The families usually stay in one camp in New Jersey for the entire summer, although they may at times work for farmers other than the one who owns the camp in which they live. They remain until September or October, at which time they return to the South in the same manner in which they arrived.

Thus most of the families are only semi-migrant; they do not make a whole series of moves, living and working in many places in the course of the year, as do many migrants in other parts of the country. Only 17% stop to work in any other location on their way to New Jersey, and most of those families stop only once.*

The number of years these families have been following the crops varies considerably, as the following Table indicates:

---

*Cf. The migration pattern of this migrant population is typical of a large proportion of Florida migrants. In a study of them made in 1952, Metzler[1] found that half of those he contacted worked in only one state outside of Florida, that another one-third worked in only two other states, and that only one in eight worked in as many as three other states.

TABLE II -4

NUMBER OF YEARS FAMILIES HAVE FOLLOWED CROPS

Number of Years	Number of Families	Per Cent
One or two	14	14%
Three or four	17	17%
Five to ten	30	31%
More than ten	37	38%
Total	98	100%

The fact that 69 per cent of the families have been "on the seasons" for five or more years indicates that working as migrants is not something a family decides to do in an occasional summer when its income is not up to normal, bur rather is an established economic pattern and pattern of life. Further, in most of the families who have been migrants for less than five years, the mother or parents are over 30. This suggests that many of them are not in the migrant stream simply because they have grown into it, following their parents' footsteps, but rather because they have been forced into it by unemployment or drawn into it by the attraction of being able to ha e older children and adolescents contribute to the support of the family.

The Parents*

Nearly half of the families of the children interviewed appear not to contain both of the natural parents of the children. Information was available for only 84 of the 115 families, but of those 84, 34 (40 per cent) included only one or neither of the children's natural parents. In some instances the only adults with whom the children lived were relatives or step-parents. In most of those 34 families, however, the children lived with their mothers, and in some cases, with step-fathers also. In this group the natural father did not reside with the family either because the mother had lived with him only briefly, or because they were separated. As Table V shows, there was a much higher incidence of both natural parents being present among Puerto Rican than Negro families. This may be attributed to the fact that the father assumes a much more important role in the Puerto Rican family than in the Negro family, and that leaving one's wife and children is viewed with much greater disapprobation in the Puerto Rican community than in the Negro community.

---

*For a fuller discussion of the family in the Negro migrant community, see Chapter III.

TABLE II.-5

FAMILIES IN WHICH CHILDREN ARE LIVING WITH NATURAL PARENTS BY ETHNICITY

Natural Parents	Ethnic Background					
	Negro or White		Puerto Rican		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Both	34	55%	16	73%	50	60%
One or none	28	45%	6	27%	34	40%
TOTAL	62	100%	22	100%	84	100%

It is interesting that in 1963 one school (Deerfield) had a much higher incidence than the others of children from families in which both natural parents were not present (69% compared with 53% and 48% at the other two schools in which there were large numbers of interviewees from Negro families). Children from that school tended to perform less well then other Negro children tested, and were harder to trace in the winter enrollment study. Furthermore, the main "sending camp for Deerfield was much more disorderly than the other camps.

The Children's School and Work Experience

It was suggested above that the families sending children to the New Jersey migrant summer schools do not follow the migrant pattern that is often described, working in many areas from early spring to late fall. Rather they work in one area outside of Florida (New Jersey) from late spring to early fall, spending the rest of the year at their winter bases.

School Experience

This pattern of migration is reflected in the children's winter school enrollment. Fifty-seven per cent (These figures are based on the winter school enrollment study reported in Appendix A.) of them are enrolled in their permanent winter school at the beginning of the term in September. By early November, this figure has risen to 87%. Only one in eight does not enter winter school until December or later. (Table not shown). Among those pupils expecting to come North the next spring, and those haveing some idea of when their families would leave, 70 per cent said that it would not be until June, and another 18 per cent said it would not be before May; thus once again, only one in eight anticipates leaving school considerably before the end of the spring term. (Table not shown).

Although these figures apply to only a part of the total sample interviewed in this study; interviewers have concluded from informal contact with crew leaders and adults that the replies of this group are both fairly representative and quite accurate. They are also similar to the findings of Metzler, in his study of a similar migrant population.[1] He found that 88 per cent of the families in his study were back in Florida in November, and that 85 per cent did not leave until May, many remaining until June.

Thus a majority of the children enter school in September, and a majority (though not necessarily the same majority) leave in June. Almost half of those for whom information is available are in school for the whole school term. Sixty percent have at least eight months of uninterrupted schooling.

TABLE II-6

ANTICIPATED LENGTH OF ENROLLMENT IN HOME BASE SCHOOL *

Anticipated Length of Enrollment	Percent (N=37)
Full term	49%
8 Months	11%
7 Months	11%
6 Months	14%
5 Months	5%
4 Months	8%
3 Months	1%

*Cf. This table is based on 67 students for whom information was obtained from their home base school. In 30 cases the schools did not respond to the question on which this table is based.

These figures show only the time spent in the home base school and do not include time spent in temporary schooling in New Jersey or elsewhere. If one can generalize from this sample, it would appear that continuously interrupted schooling is not as great a problem among these migrant children as it is among migrant children in other parts of the country. It would appear that if the children miss any school it is the first and last month or so. These are very important periods, however, and missing them can be expected to cause some problems for the children.

The fact that these migrant children are at their home bases during most of the school year and do not have to attend school on the road for a large part of it (as many migrant children do), is reflected in the fact that 54 per cent of the 169 children interviewed had attended only one winter school, and that few had attended as many as three. Furthermore, the few who had attended more than one school had attended one in a state other than the one in which their present winter base was located, as the following Table indicates:

TABLE II -7

NUMBER AND LOCATION OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED

Number and Location of Schools	Number of Children	Per cent
One school	90	54%
More, in same community	21	12%
More, in same county	7	4%
More, in same state	10	6%

TABLE III-7 (continued)

Number and Location of Schools	Number of Children	Per Cent
More, in other states	17	10%
More, D.K. or N.A.	23	14%
TOTAL	169	100%

The children in the study were, for the most part, retarded in their scholastic achievement as measured by reading and intelligence tests, relative to established national norms. A report of their performance on such a test is discussed at length in Chapter V (Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part II). In brief, however, they were found to be retarded by an average of two years in their reading level, with the older children tending to be more retarded than the younger ones. Their median I.Q. score was 79. As is suggested in Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part I, however, this presumably reflects factors other than low innate group intellectual ability.

The children were retarded in their grade level as well. Indeed, this appears to be very common among migrant children in all parts of the country.*

It was difficult to establish an exact measure of age-grade retardation with the information on age and school grade obtained in this study. In particular, it was not always certain whether the information on grade in school obtained from children referred to the grade just completed at the home base school or the grade into which the child had been promoted. In order to avoid over-representation of retardation, it was decided to use an apparent two year age-grade discrepancy. For example, if a child of nine was in second grade, he was classified as retarded. It was felt that anyone classified as retarded with reference to this criterion was certain to be so. Grade level was determined by the grade the child reported in the interview for this study. The age used in the calculation of retardation was the age of the child at the time of the interview. Information was obtained on 159 of the 169 children interviewed.

---

*Cf. Secretary Goldberg's testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor, to the effect that "83 per cent of those 14 years of age and 92 per cent of those 15 years of age (are) enrolled in grades below normal for their age.[2]"

Fifty-two per cent of the 159 children were found to be retarded in terms of the criterion used. As in other studies, it was also found that retardation increased markedly with age. Only one-third of those under ten years of age were retarded, while over two-thirds of those ten and older were. The following table shows the grade-age distribution, with numbers of retarded children given in parentheses; once again, the actual number of retarded children may be larger, since only those with a two-year age-grade discrepancy are here classified as retarded.

TABLE II -8

GRADE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

Grade	Ages									
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
1	2	(13)	(5)	(2)	--	--	--	--	--	22 (20)
2	--	14	(6)	(3)	(3)	--	--	--	(1)	27 (13)
3	--	5	17	(7)	(7)	(1)	--	--	(2)	39 (17)
4	--	--	11	9	(12)	--	(2)	(1)	--	35 (15)
5	--	--	--	3	3	(8)	(2)	--	(2)	18 (12)
6	--	--	--	--	2	7	(3)	--	--	12 (3)
7	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	(2)	5 (2)
Total	2	32	39	24	27	18	8	1	7	159
Retarded	(0)	(13)	(11)	(12)	(22)	(9)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(83)
%Ret.	0%	40%	28%	50%	81%	50%	87%	100%	100%	52%

It was found that age-grade retardation varied with ethnicity; 88 per cent of the Puerto Rican children had a grade-age discrepancy of two or more years, whereas only 40 per cent of the Negro children did; and among children ten years of age or older, 91 per cent of the Puerto Ricans, in contrast with only 58% of the Negroes, were retarded. (Table not shown).

Work Experience

The great majority of the children interviewed had worked in the fields. Seventy-nine per cent of those under 12 years of age reported that they had done so, in spite of the fact that in New Jersey a child must be 12 before he can legally work. Fifty-two per cent of the children who did not work in the field said that they often had to baby-sit for their younger bbothers and sisters (while their mother and older siblings worked in the fields). Sixty-eight per cent of the group as a whole reported they had to baby-sit, two-thirds of whom said they did so three or more days per week. Thus nearly all of the children were involved in some aspect of family work very early in childhood. Work for them is more real and demanding than school; and their early involvement in work is reflected not only in their age-grade retardation, which increases with age, but also in the fact that so few of them continue to attend school when attendance is no longer required by law.*

---

*Cf Chapters IX and X, on the Social and Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Metzler, William H. Migratory Farm Workers in the Atlantic Coast Stream, Washington D.C.; U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Circular No. 966, 1955, p. 28.

(2) Programs for Improving Educational Opportunities for Migratory Farm Workers and Their Children, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Report No. 698, 1961, p. 3.

CHAPTER III

THE MIGRANT FAMILY

Introduction

An understanding of a group's family structure is essential to an understanding of its patterns of behavior; and a group's family structure cannot be understood without reference to the group's socio-economic position and historical background. In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind two considerations: that our group of respondents are migrant farm workers, and that most of them -- and most East Coast Negro migrants -- are rural or small-town Southern Negroes, migrating in the Southern Coastal States.

First, it cannot help affecting the family structure of this group that migrant farm workers in general constitute a uniquely disadvantaged and particularly impoverished element in American society. They are set apart from the rest of society not only by their position as members of racial or ethnic minorities, but also by the mobility which pervades every aspect of their lives, disrupting everything from their community participation to their children's education. They have the lowest average annual income of any group in the country,* and are prevented from improving their socio-economic position by the fact that they are perhaps the most poorly educated and unskilled element in the nation.

Second, however, and perhaps more important, the present-day family structure of any essentially rural Southern Negro group can be properly understood only in light of the historical background of the

---

* Cf Chapter I, "The People Who Follow the Crops" and Chapter X, "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

Negro family in this country, and more particularly in the light of the family pattern established during the slave period.

> In general, there was little attempt on the part of the white plantation owner to encourage monogamous mating or to emphasize the sanctity of marriage ..... Strong marital and familial ties on the part of the slaves operated against the best interests of the owner. From a dollar and cent point of view loose family ties were preferable to a strong family system ....
>
> Historians are agreed that such stability as did exist in the slave family centered on the mother. Children were neither legitimate or illegitimate; there was simply no concept of legitimacy so far as slaves were concerned. The husband was often a temporary figure in the slave cabin and it was common for children not to know the identity of their own father. It was the mother who was regarded as the dependable member of the slave family, and it was through her that some semblance of family organization took root. 5

This pattern endured among rural Southern Negroes long after the Civil War , perpetuated by the the disorganization of the Reconstruction period, by the fact that emancipation did not substantially alter their socio-economic position, and in good part simply by the inertia of custom. It is a pattern that remains common even today among this group, if not as widespread as it once was. Stability and conformity to the legal and social norms of wider society of male-female relationships among Southern Negroes has tended to follow the achievement of relative economic security and the attainment of higher socio-economic position; on the other hand, such stability and conformity are very slow in coming in the absence of this achievement and attainment. The Southern Negroes who follow the migrant stream are perhaps the farthest from it of any Southern Negroes, since most of them do so only because they are unable to find steady jobs the year around in the South. Thus one would expect instability and lack of conformity to social and legal norms of male-female relationships to be both relatively common and widely accepted among the Negro migrants in the East Coast Stream.

Illegitimacy might thus also be expected to be both common and accepted, and it is, according to Myrdal; "The Negro community also has the healthy social custom of attaching no stigma to the illegitimate child .... A high value is place on children generally, and those who mate outside of marriage do not have a tendency to prevent the coming of children. There are few unwanted children." 6 Pregnancy of the birth of a child may or may not prompt a couple to enter a legal or common-law union; once again, there is little stigma attaching to a decision not to. In fact, such a decision is often made on other grounds, entirely. Frazier reports,

> When the couple decide upon marriage, which is generally of the common-law type, they enter into a cooperative relationship. The permanence of the "marriage" depends not only upon affection and sentiment, but often upon the extent to which they can "work together" on the farm. 2

The respondents whose relationships to men* deviated from general social norms exhibited little reticence in talking about their relationships with men, their previous mates and numbers of births out of wedlock, their feelings about their behavior, and the like -- matters likely to arouse resentment and evasion in persons of higher socio-economic standing. Most spoke in a manner indicating resignation, acceptance, and even indifference to many of these matters;

---

* All but two of the 60 respondents were women, and for the sake of convenience, all respondents will be spoken of as if they were women.

none appeared to be attempting to preserve a front or to keep secret these personal aspects of their lives.* Their willingness to talk openly about these matters may be traced to group acceptance of the behavior in question and to the fact that they do not feel any prestige to be at stake in the matter, as most others in our society do. 3 However, these behaviors and attitudes serve to emphasize that while differences exist many of the moral norms of the larger society are deeply held.**

Male-Female Relationships: Stable and Unstable

In order to investigate the structure of the Negro migrant family, an intensive interview schedule was administered to sixty Negro migrant women on a face to face basis. *** Each was a member of a migrant family grouping, consisting of the nuclear family of parent(s) and children, residing together on New Jersey farms during the harvest seasons of 1962 and 1963. Their relationships to men shall be considered first, because of the central importance of these relationships.

* For example, one unmarried mother stated, "I live with a man for a while, but then I have a baby and he leaves. They just want to sleep with you." Another remarked, "I don't mind having the kids if they (the fathers) would only help support them."

** "The existence of these practices does not mean that the Negro community has no moral standards, even in the traditional American sense. 'Fast women, philandering men and fly-by-night' affairs are condemned. In the rural South, the rule is that a person may cohabit with only one other person during a given period: there is little promiscuity. But the important thing is that the Negro lower classes, especially in the rural South, have built up a type of family organization conducive to social health, even though the practices are outside the American tradition." 6

*** There was a 60% overlap between this sample and the study's parents sample.

Of the 60 respondents, 35 or 58% stated that they were legally married, indicating that the structure of their families is thus consistent with the two-generation nuclear family of two parents and their children. (None of the women reported any non-relatives residing with them, and only two reported that relatives -- a mother and a sister -- lived with them.)

How stable do these families appear to be? Duration of marriage is one criterion of stability; and in terms of this criterion, they seem to be quite stable. Twenty-three per cent of the married respondents had been married to the same person 18 years or more; 49% had been married for over 10 years, and 71% reported that they had been married five years or more to the same person. Of course, these figures tell nothing of the percentage of marriages that do not last; the figures do indicate, however, that many are quite durable. Of the other respondents, seven were married but separated. Two at one time had also been divorced; and most of the seven who had separated had been separated more than once. For three of the married respondents their present marriage was their second.

While the figures show that not all migrant marriages are stable, they do indicate that many of them are enduring. This situation thus provides some justification for taking legal marriage as an indication of stable family structure, implying the continuous presence of one and only one adult male -- who is usually recognized as the father of most if not all of the woman's children -- over an indefinite number of years. An unstable family in terms of this criterion would be a household consisting of a woman and her children in which either there is no male present, or in which a male, who is not the legal husband, has been in the household for only a short time.

Since it is stability of family structure, and more specifically, stability of adult male-female relationships that is at issue rather than the legal status of these relationships, it would be arbitrary and unjustifiable to exclude common-law unions of long standing from the category of "stable". Newer common-law unions, unlike recent marriages, may be excluded from it on the ground that they may merely be temporary liasons. Longer ones, however, imply the same kind of family situation described above as indicated by the fact of a legal union. Eight of the 60 respondents, or 13%, reported that they were living in common-law unions -- that is, in families consisting of a mother, her children, and her mate to whom she is not legally married. The duration of these unions at the time of the interviews varied from a number of months to 19 years; three unions were less than a year old, and another had lasted only two years. The woman involved in this last union had at least two previous mates and five children.

The other four, however, would seem to be as stable as any of the legal marriages. Although two of the women had been involved in a liason prior to their current one, all four unions had endured for ten years or longer. These four should, therefore, be included with the 35 legally married respondents living with their spouses, in the category of those with stable male-female relationships, making a total of 39 or 65% of the sixty respondents.

In addition to the four women in the common-law unions, there were 17 other respondents (29%) whose family structure was classified as unstable. Their households consist only of mothers and their children; seven of them were separated from their husbands, and ten were never married.* Some at present see other men and some do not; but in all cases continuous long-term presence of a male who is father of most of the children is lacking. Thus a total of 21 respondents (35%) may be classed in the category of those with unstable male-female relationships.

Other Measures of Stability of Family Structure

Another measure of family stability is the cohesiveness of the family unit, whether it includes an adult male figure or not. This is the question, in other words, of whether children live and travel with their parent(s) as they follow the coastal stream, or live with friends or relatives near the home base. This may be an ambiguous criterion of stability, however, since it is conceivable that parents might leave their children behind because they care for them more, rather than less, e.g., because they want them to be spared the rigors of migrant life, or be able to finish school in the spring and enter it on time in the fall. However, this does not need to become an issue; for virtually no children under 16 years of age were not with their parents.* The only exceptions were a hospitalized 5 year-old and a year-old baby (children of married parents), and one 14 and one 15-year-old (children of separated women). Thus this criterion neither suggests any new grouping of respondents' families into categories of "stable" and "unstable", nor does it either reinforce or argue against the grouping in terms of male-female relationships suggested above.

---

* It should be remarked that when separation is spoken of, spatial rather than legal separation is meant; this kind of separation is often spoken of as "the poor man's divorce", taking the place of costly, bothersome, confusing legal separation and divorce in virtually all cases.

Thus it is only in terms of this latter consideration that such a classification can objectively be made, encompassing as it does, marital status (legal and common-law), duration of union, and in part and indirectly, number of mates. There is another factor of importance: namely, stability and harmony of parent-child relationships, which sould be taken into consideration but data on this are lacking. It should be kept in mind, therefore, that when the terms "stable" and "unstable" are used, they apply to male-female relationships solely, and not to parent-child relationships. It is not only conceivable, but also known to be the case that migrant family groups classified as unstable in the former respect are entirely stable and harmonious in the latter. It may be noted that children in such families are subject to feelings of insecurity over and above those common to migrant children from more "stable" families; however, perhaps in part because such male-female instability is common among migrants, they seem generally to adjust well to the situation, as Elizabeth Sutton has observed. [7] Nevertheless, the absence of a single father-figure and the mother-centeredness of this type of family may be expected to have effects on the socialization and self-image of the children.

---

* Children that are 16 or over, obviously need not be considered, for it is the pattern among migrant children that at about this age they strike out for themselves. They are often already married with children of their own by 16.

Respondents' Evaluation of Male-Female Relationships

The respondents who were married and not separated were asked to give their personal estimates of their marital happiness and their satisfaction with their marriage. Given a choice of replying, "very happy", "happy", "average", or "rather unhappy", only two stated that they were "rather unhappy", and two, that they felt "average"; all the rest (31) replied that they were either "very happy" or "happy". The same four respondents stated that they were only "somewhat satisfied" with their marriages, while the rest replied that they were "satisfied" with theirs. However, the comments of several of the four indicated that their attitudes were prompted by considerations other than their relationship to their husbands. For example, it developed that the main reason one had said she was "rather unhappy" was that one of her children had been born with leg deformities. And when asked why she was only "somewhat satisfied" with her marriage, she explained, "There are good and bad times. There's work and sometimes there ain't."

It may also be of interest to note some of the reasons given by those who considered themselves satisfied and happy with their marriages. One said, "We get along as good as others. Sometimes we fight, but not too often." Another simply said, "We have a nice family." And a third stated, "Well, we have our troubles like most people, but we keep together."

As might be expected, those who were separated or not married felt rather differently about their relationships with men, which frequently had been unhappy and unsatisfactory. One mother of four children said of her husband from whom she is now separated, "He used to drink, fight, gamble, run around. He never was at home." Another separated mpther of four said that her husband "used to go out drinking -- took off for days -- then he came back and argued." A respondent who had never been married, but who had given birth to five children, said of her most recent consort, "We got along until he started running around and stayed drunk all the time". These feelings were quite common among the respondents in the "unstable" group. This does not include most of those living in common-law unions, however; they were generally satisfied with existing arrangements.

Number of Births to Respondents

Unhappy though the unstable group relationships with men may have been, however, they were very fruitful ones -- much more so than were the happier relationships of the stable group. The former constituted 35% of the respondents and the latter 65%, yet of the 277 children born to them, the former accounted for 52.8% of the births, the latter 47.2%. In other words, the "unstable" group, one third of the total, accounted for over half of the births to the respondents. They averaged 7 births, whereas the stable group averaged 3.4 -- less than half of the former average. The average for all respondents was 4.6 births. This is a very high birth rate; and it should be kept in mind that most of the respondents were well within child-bearing age -- the average age was 33.8 -- and that therefore, these averages are likely to be considerably higher by the time this population ceases to bear children.

The number of births by the type of marital relationship of the female respondent are given in Table III-1.

TABLE III -1

NO. OF CHILDREN BY SAMPLE FEMALES AND BY MARITAL STABILITY

Type of Marital Stability	No. of Mothers	Age of Children 1-2 No.	%	3-4 No.	%	5-11 No.	%	12-16 No.	%
Stable	39=(100%)	17	44	6	15	23	59	14	36
Unstable	21=(100%)	4	19	8	38	18	86	15	71
Total	60=(100%)	21	35	14	23	41	68	29	48

These differences are somewhat deceptive, in that the average "stable" respondent was 31.7 years old, whereas the average "unstable" respondent was 37.6 years old. This fact undoubtedly accounts for part of the difference in the number of children born to the two. However, it may be doubted that it accounts for all of it; the "unstable" respondent averages twice as many births as the "stable", who has been bearing children for more than twelve years; and it is unlikely that the former's twelve year total will double in the next six years.

In short, there seems to be a correlation between stable male-female relationships and a relatively low birth-rate, and also a correlation between unstable relationships and a relatively high birth-rate, among the migrants in this sample. This fact is of some significance, since it means that an unusually large number of children are born into homes in which a stable father-figure is lacking, in which their mothers' realtionships to men are unstable, in which economic deprivation is likely to be even greater than in other migrant families, and in which a casual or indifferent attitude toward legal and social family norms is likely to prevail.

It is these children who are least likely among migrant children to get an adequate education and move beyond the social and economic level of their parents. Thus this trend in births serves to aggravate the existing migrant problem by swelling the number of those that are least able to move out of their cyclical trap.

Ages of Children (16 and Under)

With reference to the ages of the respondents' children, one-third had children under three years old, one-quarter had three and four year-olds (nursery school age), two-fifths had five to eleven year-olds (grade school age), and one-half had twelve to sixteen year olds (old enough to get work permits). However, the percentage at the different age levels were different for the "stable" and "unstable" respondents, as Table III-2 shows; few of the latter had pre-school-aged children, while most had children in both older categories. On the other hand, relatively fewer of the former had children in the older categories, while a considerable number of them had very young children. (Of course, many respondents had children over 16 years of age; few were living with their parents, however, and therefore they are not considered.)

The total number of children involved -- that is, children 16 and under -- was 197. This is 80 less than the respondents' total number of births (277). Forty-six of those 80 were over 16; 34 (12%) were either dead at birth or died in infancy or in early childhood. It may be significant that 25 of these 34 were given birth by "unstable" respondents (19% of their total number of births), whereas only 9 were given birth by "stable" respondents (7% of their total number).

Half of the 197 children were five to 11 years old; three in ten were 12 to 16, and two in ten were under five. A breakdown into the two types of marital stability groups yields much less of a difference in numbers of children at different age levels than Table III-1 indicates. The only substantial difference between the two groups is that the "stable" group has a considerably higher proportion of children under three years old than does the other group. (Table III-2).

TABLE III-2

NO. OF CHILDREN BY AGE AND BY MARITAL STABILITY

Type of Marital Stability	No. of Children	Age of Children							
		1 - 2		3 - 4		5 - 11		12 - 16	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stable	109 (100%)	22	20	7	6	51	47	29	27
Unstable	88 (100%)	5	6	8	9	45	51	30	34
Total	197 (100%)	27	14	15	7	96	49	59	30

Summer School Enrollment

The "stable" marital group sent a total of 36 children to school, while the "unstable" sent a total of 43 children. This does represent a slight difference in the behavior of the two groups but not enough to be of significance.

In examining the school enrollment for the "stable" and "unstable" marital groups it is of relevance to examine the schooling of the mothers.

TABLE III-3

EDUCATION OF MOTHERS BY TYPE OF MARITAL STABILITY

Type of Marital Stability	No. of Mothers	GRADE COMPLETED							
		1 - 3		4 - 6		7 - 9		10 - 12	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stable	39 (100%)	3	8	15	38	18	46	3	8
Unstable	21 (100%)	3	14	11	52	5	24	2	10
Total	60 (100%)	6	10	26	44	23	38	5	8

It should be noted from the above table that the "stable" group had more schooling than the other. In addition, the educational aspirations of the stable group were somewhat higher than the aspirations of the unstable group. (Table III-4).

TABLE III-4

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF MOTHERS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

Type of Marital Stability	No. of Mothers	Complete Grade School		Attend High School		Complete High School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stable	39 = 100%	0	0	7	18	32	82
Unstable	21 = 100%	1	5	5	24	15	71
Total	60 = 100%	1	2	12	20	47	78

While the differences are not large Table III-4 does leave the impression that the home situation and atmosphere of the "stable" group is somewhat conducive to an interest in educational attainment. The sum total of the study's data also indicates that where both natural parents are present, they are less likely to think that their children ought to earn their keep than are mothers who no longer are living with the natural fathers of their children. This can be readily discerned by examing Table III-5 based on the total study sample.

TABLE III-5

PARENTS ATTITUDES ABOUT THE ECONOMIC SELF SUFFICIENCY OF THEIR CHILDREN BY AGE OF CHILDREN AND TYPE OF MARITAL STABILITY

Age of Children	Type of Marital Stability		Should Children Earn Their Keep					
			YES		NO		D.K.	
	Type	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5-9 years old	Stable	41 (100%)	19	46	16	39	6	15
	Unstable	28	16	58	6	21	5	21
	Subtotal	69	35	51	22	33	11	16
10-16 years old	Stable	44	19	43	20	45	5	12
	Unstable	28	18	64	7	25	3	11
	Subtotal	72	37	51	27	38	8	11
5-16 years old	Stable	85	38	45	36	42	11	13
	Unstable	56	34	62	13	23	8	15
	Total	141	72	51	49	35	19	14

In the above table if those who answered "don't know" are set aside, only half of the more stable group thought their children ought to earn their keep, whereas more than two-thirds of the less stable group felt this way .

Summary and Conclusion

To summarize this chapter dealing with the Negro family in the East Coast migrant stream, of the 60 respondents, 35 were married -- half for ten or more years -- and four lived in common law unions of long duration. Seven others were married but separated, four were living in recently formed common law unions, and ten were unmarried and alone with their children. These two groups, of 39 and 21 respondents, were termed "stable" and "unstable" respectively, with reference to their relationships to men (and not with reference to their relationships with their children). It was found that if these groupings are retained in the examination of other points relating to the family, many significant differences emerge. (One difference that did not emerge related to the cohesiveness of the family unit; in only two cases were there any relatives beyond the immediate family in the household, and in only four cases were there any children under 17 that did not live and travel with the family unit.)

One such difference concerned the happiness and satisfactions of the respondents' relations with men. Virtually all of the "stable" group reported their relations to be happy and satisfactory, while the opposite was the case in the instance of nearly all of the "unstable" group. Another difference was found in the number of births of the two groups. The average for all repondents was 4.6, but the average in the "unstable" group (7.0) was twice as large as as that in the "stable" group (3.4). This can only in part be accounted for by the fact that the average age of the former was 37.6, while that of the latter was 31.7. The "unstable" group also had a much higher percentage of still-births and infant and child deaths (19% of their births) than did the "stable" group (7%).

There was also a difference in the ages of the children of the two groups of respondents. Most of the "unstable" group had grade school-age and 12-16 year old children, but few had pre-school-age children, whereas half of the "stable" group had pre-school-age children, only slightly more than half had grade-school-age children and only one-third had 12-16 year olds. Of the respondents' total of 197 children who were 16 or under, half were five to 11 years old, three in ten were 12 to 16, and two in ten were under five; the only substantial difference between the groups in this regard is that the "stable" group had a higher proportion of children under three than the "unstable" group.

In addition to these findings, other differences between the two groups may be surmised. Children will be affected quite differently if they grow up in a household in which there is a permanent father or father-figure, than in a household that is mother-centered and in which there is either no such figure or a series of them. They will further be affected in their ability to form relationships of their own by the relationships they perceive between their mother and men. They will also be affected, much more immediately, by having a large rather than a smaller number of siblings, particularly when space and financial resources are very limited. And they will be affected if their mother is the only adult wage-earner in the family -- particularly if she is pregnant every year or two. One of the effects of these latter conditions is that such a child normally will drop out of school and begin working at the

the first opportunity.* This is one important respect in which his education, and therefore, his future life, are vitally affected by his home situation.

That the structure of the family and the home situation are of importance in the development of the child is clear. The migrant child is certainly no exception; and the importance of these factors is, if anything, increased by the problems that exist in these aspects of the migrant child's life. This is particularly so in the case of the child of the "unstable" migrant parent. Male-female relationships would seem to be the keystone in the arch of family structure, as is indicated by the differences that emerged when the respondents in this study were grouped according to them; a weakness in the structure at that point seems frequently to be accompanied by weaknesses elsewhere. If it can be said that some migrant children are more disadvantaged than others -- educationally, socially, motivationally -- and need help more than others, it would appear that the best place to look for these expecially disadvantaged children would be among those from "unstable" families.

---

* Cf Chapter X, "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

FOOTNOTES

1. New Jersey Dept. of Labor and Industry, Education of Migrant Children in New Jersey, Trenton, N.J., June, 1960.

2. Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro in the United States, New York: MacMillan Company, 1949, p.318.

3. Hughes, Everett C., Men and Their Work, Chicago: Free Press, 1958.

4. Hyman, Herbert, "The Value Systems of Different Classes", Class, Status and Power, edited by R. Bendix and S. Lipset, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.

5. Kephart, William, The Family, Society and the Individual, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1961, pp. 217-219.

6. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper Brothers, 1944, p. 953.

7. Sutton, Elizabeth, Knowing and Teaching The Migrant Child, Washington, D.C.: Dept. of Rural Education, NEA, 1960, pp. 29,30.

A NOTE ON A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN AMONG NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN MOTHERS

One of the important ways in which Negroes and Puerto Ricans differ is with respect to their occupational attitudes and aspirations for their children. This is examined at the end of this chapter on the migrant family because it deals with an important constituent of the atmosphere of the home.

In the course of the interviews the respondents were asked how far they went in school. As Table III-6 shows, Negro mothers had considerably more years of school than did Puerto Rican mothers. Eighty-seven per cent of the former went beyond the third grade compared with 40% of the latter.

TABLE III-6

MOTHER'S EDUCATION BY ETHNICITY

Mother's Education	ETHNICITY			
	Negro or White		Puerto Rican	
	N	%	N	%
0-3rd Grade	(9)	13	(12)	60
4th-8th Grade	(43)	63	(7)	35
9th-12th Grade	(16)	24	(1)	5
Total	(68)	100%	(20)	100%

The Puerto Ricans' low level of grade completion did not prevent them from realizing the importance of a high school education; in fact, nine in ten respondents among both Negroes and Puerto Ricans answered "yes" to the question "In your opinion, is it really important for a person to graduate from high school in order to get a good job?" Of course, this indicates not what they expect of their children, but what they recognize as desirable in the way of educational achievement.

If one considered the educational background of respondents alone, one would expect that the Negroes would be more anxious than the Puerto Ricans that their children not follow the crops when they are grown. In fact, however, a somewhat higher percentage of Puerto Ricans than Negroes answered that they felt it would be wrong if their children wanted to follow the crops.(Table 7).

TABLE III-7

MOTHER'S FEELINGS ABOUT CHILDREN FOLLOWING THE CROPS BY ETHNICITY

Mother's Feeling About Children Following Crops	Ethnicity Negro or White N	%	Puerto Rican N	%
Disapprove	(62)	84	(19)	95
Neutral	(7)	9	-	-
Approve	(5)	7	(1)	5
Total	(74)	100%	(20)	100%

The disparity may no doubt be accounted for by the hypothesis that the Negroes are likely to be somewhat more resigned than the Puerto Ricans to the likelihood that their children will in fact not be able to find better jobs when they are grown. The most significant thing about the replies to this question, however, is not this disparity -- which, after all, is not too great -- but rather the high proportion of disapprovals in both groups.

The mothers were asked in another part of the interview, without any reference to their children or to what is realistically possible for them or their children, "Would you tell me some jobs that have always struck you as being pretty good jobs?" They could name as many jobs as they wished. Their replies may be thought to give an indication of where the "horizon of the conceivable" lies for them. As Table III-8 indicates, there was a considerable difference in the trend of replies of the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. When naming jobs for boys, Nearly all of the latter listed as one "pretty good" job a professional or white collar occupation* compared with 58% of the former. Very high proportions of both groups named white collar jobs for girls, although the difference between Negroes and Puerto Ricans persists. Most of the remaining choices for both boys and girls fell into the service and blue collar category. Only two Negroes and one Puerto Rican listed farmer or farm laborer as a "pretty good" job.

---

* It is not necessary to distinguish these two categories from each other, here. First, they are not that clearly distinguished in the minds and replies of the respondents. Secondly, the size of the respondent population does not allow any category distinctions other than major ones. It happened, however, that professional jobs were mentioned much more frequently than white collar jobs, in answer to both this question and the next.

TABLE III-8

JOBS MOTHERS THINK ARE "PRETTY GOOD" BY ETHNICITY

Mother Thinks "Pretty Good" Job Is:	Ethnicity							
	Male Occupation				Female Occupation			
	Negro or White		Puerto Rican		Negro or White		Puerto Rican	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional, Clerical or Sales	(30)	58	(19)	90	(49)	80	(20)	95
Service(not domestic) skilled or semi-skilled	(29)	56	(4)	19	(19)	31	(2)	10
Unskilled	(8)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farmer or Farm Labor	-	-	(1)	5	(2)	3	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	(5)	8	-	-
Total	(N=52)		(N=21)		(N=61)		(N=21)	

It would thus appear that Negro migrants think of jobs in much more modest terms than do Puerto Rican migrants, even when no specific reference is being made to realistic possibilities. A better and more significant measure of their actual occupational aspirations for their children is given by their answers to the question, "What kind of work do you think your children should go into?" However, it should be kept in mind that aspirations are different from expectations, and that this question is different from the question, "What kind of work do you think your children will go into?"

Here again the replies of the Negro respondents were much more modest than were those of the Puerto Ricans, although, as might be expected, professional and white-collar jobs were mentioned less frequently by both groups. Unfortunately many respondents had difficulty in answering this question. A frequent reply -- particularly among the Negroes -- was that the job mattered little as long as it was steady. (This is clearly an expression of the respondents' dislike of the seasonal and mobile aspects of migrant life and work.) In the group of mothers who answered, however, 53% of the Negroes mentioned professional or white collar jobs for boys compared with 71% of the Puerto Ricans. Most of the remaining mothers chose service or blue collar work for boys. The proportion naming professional or white collar jobs for girls was higher among both groups of mothers with the differences between Negroes and Puerto Ricans even greater. Not a single mother named farmer or farm laborer for either boys or girls.

TABLE III-9

MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN BY ETHNICITY

Mothers' Aspirations for Children	Male Occupation				Female Occupation			
	Ethnicity							
	Negro or White		Puerto Rican		Negro or White		Puerto Rican	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional, Clerical or sales	(28)	53	(12)	71	(37)	66	(15)	94

TABLE III-9 (cont.)

Service (not domestic) skilled or semi-skilled	(19)	36	(5)	29	(13)	23	(1)	6
Unskilled	(5)	9	-	-	(1)	2	-	-
Farmer or Farm Laborer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	(1)	2	-	-	(5)	9	-	-
Total	(53)	100%	(17)	100%	(56)	100%	(16)	100%

There are several hypotheses that might explain the greater modesty of the Negro respondents' answers to the last two questions. As answers to earlier question indicated, it is not to be attributed to a lower gradeattainment level, or to a lower valuation of the occupational importance of education. Furthermore, while a somewhat smaller percentage of Negro than Puerto Rican respondents said that they would disapprove of their children becoming migrant workers, that difference is not great enough to account for the one in question. It must be recalled that the great majority of Negro respondents said they would disapprove.

One hypothesis might be that the Negroes aspire less than Puerto Ricans to the professions and white collar jobs because they are more aware than are the Puerto Ricans of the educational barriers confronting persons in the socio-economic position of migrant workers, and therefore, do not even aspire to something they have found to be so far beyond their reach.

Thus Herbert Hyman[4] contends that members of low socio-economic status groups tend to place less emphasis upon the high achievement and success goals of the wider American society. They are aware of, and accept, their lack of opportunity to achieve and succeed.

On the other hand, it may be that the Puerto Ricans tend to aspire to professional and white collar positions for their children because, as immigrants, they do not yet view themselves as a group confined to the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in American society. Rather they think that the status system is fluid and open, and that upward mobility is quite possible. They do not accept their current socio-economic position to the extent that the Negroes do. They feel that while they themselves may not be able to escape into a higher status, education will enable their children to advance rapidly and far.

Another related hypothesis might be that the Puerto Ricans do not see their ethnic status as a nearly insurmountable obstacle in itself to socio-economic advancement, whereas the Negroes do view their racial status in this light. The latter -- largely from the Southern Coastal states, it will be recalled -- have had a life-time of experience to lead them to be resigned to a low socio-economic position, if not precisely to their present one. This experience also leads them to be resigned to their children not being able to advance much beyond it. The Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are not a racial minority. While they are an ethnic minority, they have not lived all their lives under the depressing influence and chronic stress that accompany occupancy of low caste status. This in itself is significant, since it means that their ambitions and aspirations have not always had the kind of caste-dictated ceiling placed over them that those of Negroes have had.

These two hypotheses may be summed up as follows: the key to the differences in aspiration of Negro and Puerto Rican parents for their children may be traced to the fact that Negroes perceive the existence of barriers to the occupational advancement of their children that the Puerto Ricans do not. These perceptions are reflected in their statements of their occupational aspirations for their children. It may be that the barriers perceived by the Negroes are very real ones, not only for themselves, but for the Puerto Ricans as well. If this is so, it may be expected that as the Puerto Ricans -- especially those of darker skin -- come to recognize their existence, their aspirations for their children will be lowered until they are more in line with the practically possible. Such a forced accommodation of hopes with reality, however, cannot be expected to occur smoothly and without bitterness.

PART II. THE CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLING

CHAPTER IV

INTELLIGENCE AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, PART I
The Problem of Masked Capacity

Scholastic performance, whether on intelligence tests or in the classroom, is complex behavior, and like other kinds of complex behavior, it is dependent upon and determined by a considerable range of factors. Native endowment or hereditary mental capacity is only one of them, and a very mysterious one at that. No one would deny that it varies from one individual to the next. However, the extent to which it varies is far from clear; and because of the number of other factors involved, one must be extremely cautious in inferring from the performance of an individual or group that it is a difference in native endowment which accounts for the inferiority or superiority of the performance relative to that of another individual or group. In fact, until the other factors are controlled to a much greater extent than they have been in existing studies any such inference will remain quite unjustifiable. This becomes clear as soon as one begins to consider the other factors involved. Although the following chapter is concerned primarily with factors affecting performance on intelligence tests, it applies equally well to scholastic performance generally.

Cultural Background

The most fundamental and most frequently mentioned social factor influencing the scholastic performance of an individual is his general cultural background. This consists of the entire range of his experiences in the social environment in which he has lived. The importance of these experiences for intelligence test performance derives from the fact that "all responses to all items in all tests of general intelligence are inevitably influenced by the culture of the respondent."[7] His culture provides the individual with the background against which he views the items in the test, the terms in which he interprets them, and the means with which he attempts to handle them. His response may be materially affected by whether or not his background has contained opportunities for mental activity and has stimulated him to take advantage of them, according to Eels[7] and Miner[16]. Havighurst[7] suggests a whole series of areas in which culture may influence test performance, in his chapter, "What Are the Cultural Differences Which May Affect Performance on Intelligence Tests?" among which are the home and family life of the individual, and the life of his neighborhood and community.

Deutsch [4] speaks of the "overwhelming importance of subgroup environment and life experience on total psychological and social development," intellectual development included, and studies such as that of Schultz[19] have shown a significant correlation to exist between test performance and socio-economic conditions. Warner[2] suggests that even such a relatively minor factor as school cliques has a "drastic effect" on the scholastic performance of children. Klineberg[13] attributes the entire disparity in the intelligence test performances of Southern Negroes and Northern Negroes to their different cultural environments, and suggests this to be the cause of the Negro-white performance disparity as well.

The importance of cultural environment with reference to scholastic performance should be clear; but if it is not, a few examples should make it so. Numerous writers (e.g. Davis)[3,7] Leacock[4], and Deutsch[4] point out that most present-day schools are oriented toward middle-class values, and take their subject matter--for example, in their Readers--from middle-class life. The result is a frequent discontinuity of major proportions between the background experience and the school experience of lower-class children.

Since their school experience thus tends to lack concrete meaning and relevance to their every-day lives, they are moving in a strange world when compelled to deal with scholastic subject matter--and a world in which they have no reason to try to become at home. Intelligence test questions are often taken from this strange world, and phrased in terms of its language, with the result that while middle-class children can answer them with ease, lower-class sub-group children often find them confusing or meaningless. Thus, for example, Deutsch finds a significant correlation between low test scores and what he terms the "absence of preparation" at home for the school experience. Eells[7] and Havighurst[7] have emphasized the different vocabulary of the different classes and sub-groups, and Davis, Riessman[26], and Haggard[14] have stressed their different word-forms as well.* The influence on scholastic performance of familiarity with subject matter, vocabulary, and word forms used can hardly be overestimated.

To eliminate differences of cultural background in children would be undesirable as well as difficult; and therefore a number of investigators have attempted to devise intelligence tests that are "culture-free." However, once the pervasive effects of culture are adequately recognized, one must conclude with Dreger and Miller[6] that "the search for a culture-free test is illustory." For "a'culture-free' test situation. . .cannot be designed, because all human behaviors, including all responses to test problems, are interconnected with cultural acts."[3]

* "For example, lower-class children were found to have trouble with the word form:" . .is to. . .as. . .is to. . ." However, this does not mean that they cannot handle relationships of this nature, for their performances were found to improve considerably when the word form is changed to: "goes with. . like. .goes with. . ."

It continues to be debated, however, whether it is possible to construct a test which is "culture-fair" to members of all classes and sub-groups, that is, which includes "only those problems and symbols that imply experience that is part of the general American culture."[7] Davis thinks it is possible--his and Eells' test was used in the present study--while Dreger and Miller feel that the "culture-fair" test is as illusory as the test that is "culture-free."*

Motivation

A further crucial factor affecting scholastic performance, and one related to general cultural background, is that of motivation. Motivation effects both the amount of effort put forth on the occasion of scholastic work and the intellectual tools, and what one brings to it; for if one is consistently motivated to "do well" in school, he will develop his abilities, work habits, and powers of concentration to a level beyond that of one who is seldom so motivated; and this difference will be reflected in their performances. Motivation is intimately connected with the interests and values of the individual, and is to a considerable degree determined by them. Haggard rightly insists upon the importance of recognizing that "motivation must be defined in terms of its meaning to the subject, and not just in terms of the application of some external "reward"--which the teacher or experimenter thinks or hopes will motivate the subject."[10]

The essential role played by motivation in intelligence test performance is stressed by many writers. Haggard argues that, given a culture-fair text and test familiarity, motivation is essentially all that is needed for low-status children to learn toperform as well as higher-status children. Tyler[7] finds a significant correlation between motivation to do good work in school and performance. Miner[16] also reports that marked changes in performance have been observed to accompany motivational shifts. Eells[7] stresses two major sources of scholastic motivation generally: parental attitudes and the interest of the subject matter to those in question.

---

* The results of the application of the Davis and Eells test, when compared with the performances of similar groups on other tests, would seem to indicate either that Davis' test is little more culture-fair than many others, or that they are little less "culture-ffair" than many others, or that they are little less "culture-fair" than it is.

It should be recognized that test motivation and motivation to do well in school vary not only from individual to individual, but from social class to class. Riessman sums up a view held by many writers:

> It is clear that middle-class children are more motivated to do well on examinations of the I.Q. sort because of the general emphasis on success and competition in middle class life. Even where an examination is not directly related to a reward or a threat, the middle-class child strives to perform well. Part of the difference in I.Q. scores of middle-class and deprived children is due to differences in strength of motivation to perform well on an examination rather than to differences in intelligence.[18]

This is borne out by the research of Douvan[5] and Haggard[10], among others: the lower-class child is generally very much less highly motivated in the absence of any immediate reward or threat than is the middle-class child, as may be seen in the fact that when there is a prospect of an immediate reward, his performance tends to improve considerably, while that of the middle-class child--who was highly motivated in the first place--does not. Further, as Deutsch[4] and others have observed, the lower-class child ordinarily lacks the motivation to struggle with difficult school work and test problems; and this of course is reflected in his performance. Havighurst[7] and others have reported that many lower-class children find the test situation sufficiently unpleasant that they are more motivated to hurry through the test and be done with it than they are to do well or to do their best on it. The fact also cannot be ignored that many lower-class children are motivated negatively by the anti-intellectualism so common in lower-class sub-groups; its existence and importance for scholastic performance has been noted by many writers, including Tyler[7], Davis[3], Deutsch[4] and Riessman[18].

This discrepancy in the scholastic motivation of children of different classes cannot be remedied by making improvements upon classroom materials and intelligence tests, beyond making them as interesting as possible. As long as this discrepancy exists, performances will reflect it as well as mental ability. Thus Davis concludes that "it is possible that the middle class will also prove superior on all, or nearly all, types of possible test problems, because they have a cultural advantage in habits of work and in test motivation."[7]

Training

Habits of work, or "training phenomena," as Davis also calls them, constitute another factor which has a crucial influence upon scholastic performance; and as Davis indicates, it too tends to depress test scores of lower-class children and to raise those of middle-class children. According to him, training phenomena involve "more specific, repetitive, and purposeful experiences with cultural situations and symbols that are closely related to the test problem."[7] Like motivation, training phenomena or practice do not reflect the amount of native intelligence or mental capacity possessed by the individual; but as in the case of motivation, practice assumes considerable importance in the evaluation of scholastic performance because of its influence upon it.

Davis is not the only one to stress the significance of training and practice. Riessman[18] considers it to have an effect as major as that of motivation. This view is supported by the research of Haggard[10]. He found that lower-class children with only three hours of practice and instruction did considerably better on intelligence tests relatively free from middle-class bias than did similar children who did not have benefit of it. While practice did not enable them to improve their scores on a standard test (one not free from middle-class bias), Haggard hypothesized that three hours of practice could not begin to make up for the influence of a different cultural environment. Tyler[7] argues that middle-class homes provide both the opportunity and the stimulus for practice of school work and the development of scholastic skills and modes of thinking, while lower-class homes do not; and that thishas a corresponding effect upon learning and scholastic performance.

Thus, even if one succeeds in developing an intelligence test free from middle-class bias, one cannot expect the discrepancy between the scores of lower-and middle-class children to disappear; for this does not take into consideration the factors of motivation and practice. The findings of Haggard along these lines are most significant:

> The mere revision of test items was not sufficient to reduce the difference in performance between the high status and low status children. The marked discrepancy between the two groups was only decreased when the conditions of Motivation and Practice were also present--that is to say, when there was also a decrease between the two social-status groups in the difference in their familiarity with, and motivation to do well on, the test items.[10]

Physical and Psychological Condition

These are not the only factors that influence scholastic performance other than native endowment, however; there are a number of others, among the more important of which is the physical and psychological condition of the child, both at the time of the test and in the school situation generally. A child will not utilize his mental capacity fully if he is sick, uncomfortable, hungry, tired, anxiety-ridden, unhappy or troubled; and he will not develop it fully if these conditions are chronic. They constitute the set of what Miner[16] calls "distractors", and he holds that they will affect performance greatly if not kept at a minimum.

The importance of physical condition should be quite clear; but the importance of psychological condition should be recognized as well. Davis emphasizes the effect of "emotional phenomena", singling out the type and degree of test-situation anxiety for special emphasis. Riessman stresses this point too, observing that test performance is behavior in a particular social situation, and that children with different backgrounds respond very differently to that type of situation--and indeed to the very idea of being tested or evaluated in terms of intelligence. For example, Haggard reports that lower-class children performed better under test conditions more congruent with their usual behavior patterns than they did under standard testing conditions.

Test situation anxiety and reactions are not the only kinds of mental conditions which influence test performance. A number of studies have shown significant correlations between test performance and various aspects of the home situation. Peel[17] reports a correlation between performance and parental interest and encouragement, and Deutsch[4] reports a similar correlation between poor performance and negative family attitude. Deutsch also discovered a correlation between poor performance and broken homes, and suggests that one exists between such performance and economic uncertainty and slum living. Schultz[19] suggests that generally speaking, high performance presupposes, among other things, reasonable medical care and diet, as well as conditions in the home conducive to learning and the development of mental abilities.

In short, the physical and psychological condition of the individual is determined by a very complex set of factors. The condition of the individual, and of the group generally where conditions are similar and wide-spread, affects their scholastic performance; and therefore, the performances of different groups cannot be expected to reflect their relative general mental endowments accurately as long as their performances are affected so differently by the different condition of their members.

Language

It is notorious that to cast academic materials in standard English is to introduce a linguistic bias in favor of those who handle it easily and use it--or something close to it--normally, and a bias against those who have trouble with it, and who ordinarily use a non-standard jargon. Further, the importance of differences of vocabulary and word-form usage has already been mentioned with reference to cultural background. However, language is generally considered to be of such importance in the measurement of intelligence and in scholastic attainment generally, that a few remarks are in order concerning it.

First, it should be obvious that a group which performs poorly on all reading examinations and tests involving reading, may still have a very complex spoken language and be very proficient in its use. Secondly, as Riessman goes to great lengths to point out, the "culturally deprived" are not "non-verbal," whatever difficulties they may have with standard English. He also suggests that they express themselves much better in spontaneous, unstructured instances than in formal structured ones--such as the test situation. And thirdly, it is suggested by Davis that in making the linguistic factor the chief basis for judging mental capacity the test-makers have chosen one of the poorest indicators of problem-solving capacity."[3] If mental capacity is problem-solving capacity where the problems are the real ones which arise in everyday life, verbal intelligence tests measure verbal skill in a particular form of a particular language in a very special situation, much more than they measure true intelligence or mental capacity.

In short, written (verbal) tests cast in standard English--particularly when using middle-class vocabulary and word-forms and taking their item content from middle-class life--can hardly be expected to yield scores that reveal accurately the relation between the intelligence of the average middle-class child and that of a child from some lower-class sub-group. The linguistic bias of such tests renders them virtually useless for purposes of such comparisons. This is not to say that non-verbal tests are very much more reliable, although they would appear to be somewhat more so; it is simply to point out the extent to which, on a verbal test, language is a factor that will differently affect the performances of different groups, independently of their relative average intelligence.

Self-Image

Investigators have also come to realize that the image which the individual has of himself with respect to intelligence can materially affect his scholastic performance, both directly, and indirectly, by affecting the development of his mental abilities--and, particularly school-centered ones. Havighurst[7] contends that lower-class children tend to be convinced that they lack ability and cannot do well, and therefore spend as little time as possible in learning and test situations, in order to minimize the discomfort they produce; but of course avoidance of learning situations in no way to learn and to develop school-centered mental abilities, and hurrying through tests is no way to do well on them.

Miner[16] and Deutsch[4] both observe that the incidence of negative self-image is much higher among Negro children than among whites. Miner suggests that Negroes tend not to develop their mental abilities and not to take advantage of available learning opportunities to the extent that whites do in part because they do not have the same expectations of achievement that whites--even of their own socio-economic class--do. Support for this suggestion is to be found in a study by Radke, Trager, and Davis, which is reported by Dreger and Miller to have shown that by their fourth or fifth year, children discern their social and ethnic roles, "with attendant supervaluations or devaluations of self and performance expectations."[6] Deutsch has also investigated the matter, and reports that negative self-images are significantly more common among Negro children than among white children, and further that there is a significant correlation between negative self-image and low performance and achievement. He insists that the former is not artificially caused by the latter, and argues that negative self-image is not the least influence contributing to the generally poorer performance of the Negro child relative to that of the white.

His performance is affected by his. . .

> . . .sensing that the larger society views him as inferior and expects inferior performance from him. . Under these conditions it is understandable that the Negro child. ..would tend strongly to question his own competencies, and in so questioning would be acting largely as others expect him to act. This is an example of what Merton has called the "self-fulfilling prophecy" --the very expectation itself is a cause of its fulfillment.[7]

Here then is another influential factor, the presence of which should increase one's reluctance to inter that group performance differences, whether on tests or in the classroom, may be relied upon to indicate group intelligence differences.

Class and Caste

The observations and findings of Miner and Deutsch suggest that one must recognize the effect upon performance, no only of class differences, but also of caste differences, when one is comparing the performances of Negroes with those of whites, or more generally, with a theoretical national norm. Caste, as Davis[3] notes, differs from class in that the former allows no status-movement out of one's birthgroup, while the latter does. Where there are class differences in addition to caste differences, their influence is just as marked--if not more so--as when caste differences are absent; but when caste differences are present, it is a mistake to think that cultural variables have been removed simply by selecting test groups such that they exhibit no class differences. Shuey,[21] for example, thinks she has cast doubt upon the "environmental interpretation" by citing numerous studies in which social and economic class and educational factors have been controlled, and which nevertheless report that Negro children average considerably lower than white children on intelligence tests. But, this is at least in part to beg the question, for such studies by their very nature cannot take into account the factor of caste, which constitutes a major part of the environmental difference of Negroes and whites in this country. As Dreger and Miller point out,

> The various indices of socio-economic status already devised or those at present conceivable on the same principles are intended to distinguish social classes from one another. How they can be employed to compare individuals in different castes, except very roughly, is difficult to see.[6]

It cannot be denied that, generally speaking, in the North as well as in the South, Negroes and whites comprise separate castes in a caste status system. Their division into socio-economic classes is not a division and grouping that cuts across caste lines, but rather it occurs in roughly parallel fashion within each caste. This is the reason that it is misleading to compare the performances of middle-class Negroes and whites, or of lower-class Negroes and whites, without taking caste into account. Deutsch is another investigator who is very sensitive to its influence. He reports from his study of the scholastic performances of lower-class and minority-group children that

> . . .the Negro children are differentiated from the white majority by the cumulative effects of having inferior status as members of a racial minority, as well as social class handicaps, while the white children in the study have only the class handicap.[4]

He makes the important observation that the individual who is a member of a subordinate caste is subject to "chronic social stress" independently of that which may be caused by his low class status, and that its effect on scholastic performance, including intelligence test performance, is considerable. One important effect was singled out for special attention above: a high incidence of negative self-images. Others, Deutsch suggests, are low scholastic motivation, and difficulty in structuring experience in a cognitively meaningful manner. He hypothesizes that it is this additional chronic stress which accounts in large part for the growth of the discrepancy between the performances of white and Negro children that has been commonly observed to accompany their increasing ages.

In short, it would appear that the scholastic performance of Negro children both on intelligence tests and in the classroom generally, is affected materially by a complex of negative factors which do not affect the performance of white children of any class. This is another compelling reason to refrain from concluding anything about the relative mental capacities of white and Negro children in this country on the basis of their scholastic performances, however, balanced the test groups may be with reference to social, economic, and educational factors; for given the caste system that presently exists in this country, retardation, as Deutsch suggests, must be expected. This is not to claim that one will never be able to compare the performances of whites and Negroes with confidence, or that one cannot do so anywhere in the world today, simply because whites will always be whites and Negroes Negroes; the existence of race difference constitutes no theoretical barrier, for the very question at hand is that of the relative mental abilities of the two races. The point is that comparisons of the performances of the two *races* will always be suspect as long as they constitute separate *castes.* When color of skin determines one's social status no more than color of eyes or hair, Negroes will still be Negroes, but caste differences will no longer exist to affect their achievement and performance.

Intelligence and Scholastic Aptitude

A final general consideration to be kept in mind in the evaluation of intelligence test performances specifically is that to a very considerable extent most "intelligence" tests really measure scholastic aptitude and skills mastery, rather than intelligence less narrowly conceived--for example, as the capacity to cope successfully with problems arising in real life situations. This has been suggested above; but it is of such importance that it deserves further emphasis and development.

It would be unfruitful to conceive of intelligence so narrowly that it becomes synonymous with scholastic aptitude and skills mastery; for these are of little use in themselves, and derive their main significance from the extra-scholastic uses to which they may be put; and intelligence would be sterile indeed if the problem-solving capacity it denotes did not extend to real life problems. However, many writers including Davis[3,7] Riessman[18], and others express the conviction that most if not all existing intelligence tests do not measure the capacity for coping successfully with this larger and more important class of problems, but rather merely with the narrower and more artificial--or at least more abstract--class of "bookish" classroom problems. Eells[10] observes that lower-class children are bound to score lower on this type of test than other children, but that this must not be taken as a sign of lower general intelligence, but rather as a sign of the absence of certain special abilities. It remains open to question whether their absence is owing to some innate deficiency or to the fact that such children simply have not developed these abilities. They frequently have developed others to a greater extent than have middle-class children, however, as Tyler suggests:

> . . .so far as problem-solving exercises are concerned the typical intelligence tests lean heavily on academic school type problems, whereas lower-class children frequently have had more experience than have middle-class children on the street and in the playground. That is to say, it seems clear. .that youngsters who do not show up well on intelligence tests do possess abilities that indicate some skill in solving practical problems and that suggest potentialities for further education if the schools had broad enough goals to utilize talents of this kind.[7]

As Dreger and Miller[6] point out, it is reasonable to assume that an individual's intellectual functions develop adaptively, in response to the demands of his real life situation. Two individuals may have similar intellectual endowments, as determined by their genetic constitution; and yet if one is white and the other Negro and they live in this country, and if the family of one is school-oriented while that of the other is not, it would be surprising indeed if they developed the same intellectual functions and abilities or "kinds" of intelligence to the same level, and if they performed similarly on the same intelligence test. Dreger and Miller observe that to function successfully, a white man in a white man's world and a Negro in a white man's world generally require different kinds of intelligence. They too conclude that school-oriented intelligence tests cannot be used to compare the general intelligence of individuals from radically dissimilar social situations. This is especially true when one situation stresses scholastic aptitude and skills mastery while the other does not; for this is what such tests almost inevitably measure.

In this connection, it is interesting to note a remark by Dreger and Miller, in connection with Shuey's[21] estimate that, generally and roughly speaking, the I.Q. of the average Negro child is 10-15 points lower than that of the average white child. Dreger and Miller remark that, "Roughly speaking, the Negro child seems to operate in everyday life situations in a way expected of a white child about 10 I.Q. points above."[6] They do not elaborate upon the point; however, if both they and Shuey are correct in their estimates, we would seem to be confronted by the following situation: the average white and Negro child manifest very much the same intelligence in their ordinary actions and responses to real-life problems, as measured by some kind of behavioristic criteria. However, when they sit down and take intelligence tests, a 10 point I.Q. difference emerges.

Now, it is open to the observer to take either the behavior or the test performance of the children as most reliable, and to consider the other misleading. If he opts for the former, he will conclude that the 10-point difference does not reflect a basic difference of intellectual endowment; while if he inclined toward the latter, he will conclude that behavioristic criteria are insufficient to reflect such subtle but significant differences. To be sure, behavioristic criteria are rather crude; however, the foregoing considerations would seem to suggest that the difference, while a real one, is of scholatic aptitude and skills mastery, rather than of general intelligence; and that it is owing in large part, if not entirely, to the different demands of the different real-life situations of the white and Negro children.

Predictive Value of Intelligence Tests

As long as intelligence tests measure scholastic aptitude and skills mastery more than general intelligence, it follows that their main usefulness lies in predicting, not success in coping with real-life problems, but scholastic success in contemporary schools. This is the conclusion of nearly all of the writers cited in the preceding section. Such tests are even incapable of showing which children among those who perform poorly have the capacity to learn to handle scholastic problems very successfully. They not only are unreliable indicators of general intelligence, but also of potential ability in particular areas; and therefore they are unreliable predictors of what is possible educationally for individual children and groups of children who are poor performers, but who have been "culturally deprived", to use Riessman's phrase. Intelligence tests can only predict the level of performance and achievement in contemporary schools, of "culturally deprived" children whose deficiencies in training and motivation have not been made good.

It was suggested in the last section that intelligence tests primarily measure scholastic aptitude and skills mastery. Actually, if "scholastic aptitude" is taken to mean the native capacity for learning to handle scholastic problems, rather than the extent to which this capacity is developed, it may be doubted if they even measure that. They certainly measure the extent to which it is developed and the scholastic skills mastered, but one surely ought not conclude that only those individuals in whom this capacity is already actually developed, have it to any appreciable extent. Haggard's[10] conclusion should be recalled that while low-status children initially perform the mental tasks involved in intelligence tests less well than higher-status children do, they can generally learn to perform them approximately as well, given sufficient practice, motivation, and test items that do not discriminate culturally against them. It would seem that intelligence tests are not even reliable indicators and predictors with respect to scholastic aptitude, but only with respect to scholastic development and skills mastery.

It this is so, it should be the case that different levels of test performance may measure different levels of learning progress, but not different levels of learning ability; and in fact that is the finding of Semler and Iscoe[20]. They report that in a study they conducted they found "no overall race differnce in learning ability," and urged that "educators should exercise great caution in inferring learning ability from measured intellectual level alone."

It is most important, practically speaking, that it be recognized that intelligence test performances are not reliable indicators of the ability to learn. To "give up on" a child or group of children educationally simply on the basis of their poor test performances is often to resign both them and society to a loss that is both great and unnecessary. Tyler, in his chapter "Can Intelligence Tests be Used to Predict Educability?"[7], answers his title question in the affirmative only contigent upon the condition that intelligence tests be developed which indicate a wide, rather than a narrow range of problem-solving abilities. It will be difficult enough to develop test with such range; but it will be even more difficult to develop tests such that they can indicate abilities which have not yet begun to be developed.

Summary: Factors Affecting Performance

It should be clear that there are many factors which influence scholastic performance; that while genetic constitution or native endowment is one of them it is far from the only one; and that it is not possible at present to determine its role, either generally, or in the performances of particular individuals or groups. It is certainly premature to conclude on the basis of any existing evidence that the native intelligence of any group--such as Negroes--is inferior to that of any other; and it is highly misleading to suggest, as Shuey does, that the studies which have been conducted to date "all point to the presence of some native differences between Negroes and whites as determined by intelligence test."[21] For this is to ignore the fact that existing intelligence tests appear to discriminate against Negroes in a number of respects. Davis, Eells, Miner, Klineberg, Dreger and Miller, Haggard, and others all stress the fact that studies employing intelligence tests will be quite inconclusive until all variables other than native endowment--including general cultural background, motivation, work habits, and test familiarity, physical and psychological condition, language, self-image, and caste as well as class--have been strictly controlled, and until tests are developed that are truly culture--fair and that register general problem-solving ability rather than scholastic development and skills mastery, one may be sure that this renders all studies to date inconclusive with reference to the matter of native mental capacity, and will continue to do so for some time to come.

One would do well to take seriously the rule suggested by Deutsch, that "the behavior of the individual becomes less interpretable by standardized tools, as these tools are more distant from his experience and foreign to his consciousness."[4] Intelligence tests are one such type of tool; intelligence test performances are one such type of behavior; and Negroes--and in particular the lower sub-groups among Negroes number among those individuals for whom intelligence tests are distant and foreign indeed. They are prime examples of those from whose intelligence test performances one ought to refrain from infering that they are possessed of inferior native mental capacity and ability to learn, and then proceeding accordingly.

Migrant Workers' Children

The children of migrant farm workers, according to George Haney[11], are "the most educationally deprived group of children in our nation." All of the factors affecting scholastic achievement and test performance that have been mentioned above and beyond native endowment may be presumed to affect their achievement and performance. Their cultural background is hardly conducive to scholastic achievement, and is devoid of much of the broad range of experience presupposed in much school work. They are not sufficiently motivated to try to do well in school-related activities generally, upon which their reference group places relatively little emphasis. They have little test familiarity, and as a rule have not developed good work habits. Their physical condition is as bad, and their psychological distractors as numerous, as are those of any children in the country. Their mastery of language is poor, and of standard English, poorer. Their situation provides them with ample reason for having a high incidence of unwarrented negative self-images; and Negro migrant children are subject to the further burden and stress of inferior caste status, to which other migrant children are not, at least to the same degree.

Furthermore, it is generally acknoweldged that Southern Negro schools are the least adequately staffed, equipped, and financed in the country. These are the schools attended for the greatest length of time by Negro migrant children. It is obvious that quality of education will affect scholastic achievement--and ultimately test performance--at least as greatly as any other factor; and it is to be doubed if the quality of education of any other group is inferior to that of Negro migrant children.

Education is a continuous experience; perpetual discontinuity of educational experience can only have a negative effect upon it. The educational experience of the migrant child is rendered extremely discontinuous, in virtue of the fact that aside from the winter months, his family seldom remains in one place for a very long period of time. Further, school time is lost in moving from one place to another; and even while in one place, migrants tend to view school attendance relatively casually, for a number of reasons. The result is that migrant children not only receive a low-quality education, but also a relatively small quantity of it; they attend school only a fraction of the number of days per year that their non-migrant white counterparts do--and also tend to enter school at a later age, and to leave it at an earlier age. These factors also affect the scholastic performances of migrant children, as has been found in studies by Greene[9] and Manis[15], and in a study of other groups of children in similar situations by Gordon[8]; and they therefore provide further reasons to be extremely cautious in inferring anything about their native mental capacity as a group from their test performances.

It should be clear that Negro migrant children are at an extraordinary disadvantage on a considerable number of accounts in the classroom and on intelligence tests. Their disadvantage is such that, not only should considerable retardation be expected on purely non-genetic grounds, but also we can have no way of estimating the extent of retardation that ought to be expected on such grounds; for as Deutsch suggests, even if we were able to estimate accurately the amount of reatrdation which each negative factor should be expected to produce--which we are not--we would still not be able to estimate the additional retardation produced by the accumulation of such factors. However low the reading level and I.Q. scores of migrant children may be, therefore, we cannot legitimately conclude anything from them about the general native mental capacity of these children, relative to that of other groups. We can only observe how their test performances compare and work for the alleviation of the disadvantages which, incidentally, account for much if not all of the disparity of performances.

FOOTNOTES

1. Anne Anastasi, Psychological Testing (New York: Macmillan, 1960).

2. Ernest W. Burgess, et al. Environment and Education (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942,(Supplementary Educational Monograph, No. 54).

3. Allison Davis, Social-Class Influences upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948) p. 69-70, 85.

4. Martin Deutsch, Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic AchievemenT, (Ithaca, New York: Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph No. 2, 1960, with comment by Eleanor Leacock) p. 3, 27.

5. Elizabeth Douvan, "Social Status and Success Striving". Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,(March, 1956), p. 219-223.

6. Ralph Dreger and Kent Miller, " Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States". Psychological Bulletin, (September, 1960), p. 361, 366, 367, 368, 369.

7. Kenneth Eells, et al. Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951), p. 11, 35, 36, 38, 43.

8. H. Gordon, Mental and Scholastic Tests Among Retarded Children (London: Board of Educatinn Pamphlet, No. 44, 1923).

9. Shirley E. Greene, The Education of Migrant Children (Washington: Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association of the United States, 1954).

10. Ernest A. Haggard, "Social-Status and Intelligence". Genetic Psychology Monographs, May, 1954), p. 141, 174, 136.

11. George E. Haney, "Problems and Trends in Migrant Education", School Life, July, 1963,) p. 5-9

12. Harold L. Hodgekinson, Education in Social and Cultural Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).

13. Otto Klineberg, Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 53.

14. Otto Klineberg,ed. Characteristics of the American Negro (New York: Harper & Row, 1944).

15. Jerome G. Manis, A Study of Migrant Education (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University Press, 1958).

16. John B. Miner, Intelligence in the United States (New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1957).

17. Gerhard, Nielsen, Peel, gen. ed. *Child and Education* (Munksgaard: International Booksellers and Publishers, Ltd., 1962), (Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Applied Psychology, Vol. 3)

18. Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

19. Raymond E. Schultz, "A comparison of Negro Pupils Ranking High with Those Ranking Low in Educational Achievement." *Journal of Educational Sociology* (March, 1958), p. 265-270.

20. Ira Iscoe and Ira Semler, "Comparative and Developmental Study of the Learning Abilities of Negro and White Children Under Four Conditions." *Journal of Educational Psychology* (February, 1963), p. 38-44.

21. Audrey M. Shuey, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (Lynchburg, Virginia: J.P. Bell Company, Inc., 1958), p. 318.

CHAPTER V

INTELLIGENCE AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, PART II

A REPORT OF TEST RESULTS

In the summer of 1962, 35 children of migrant farm workers were given the Davis-Eells Games Test. [2] The children -- almost entirely Negroes -- were selected quite arbitrarily, in that they happened to be the ones in attendance at several New Jersey summer schools for migrant children near the research center. This test was selected because it presupposed relatively few developed special abilities on the part of the children and, because it overcomes at least part of the motivational problem by making a game of the test.

In the summer of 1963, a somewhat larger number of Negro migrant children from the same area, including eight who were tested in 1962, were tested both for intelligence and for reading ability. These consisted of all children enrolled in three summer schools for migrant children near the research center, who possessed minimum word and number recognition ability. (Approximately half of the children enrolled did not meet this criterion for inclusion.) They ranged in age from seven to nearly 14 years of age. Forty-eight children were given the Gates Reading Tests, [3] which measure reading ability at several different grade levels. Three test levels were employed: 1) Primary Tests for Grade 1 and first half of Grade 2 (Paragraph Reading); 2) Advanced Primary Tests for Grades 2 .5 to 3 (Paragraph Recognition); and 3) Basic Reading Test for Grades 3.5 to 8 (Level of Comprehension). The Chicago Non-Verbal Examination [1] was given to this group and to ten others -- a total of 58 children. It was chosen to give a measure of mental ability because of its special content, and because it is recommended for children with reading difficulty. Both this test and the Davis-Eells Test attempt to be as "culturally-fair" as possible.

Approximately twice the suggested total time for the administration of these tests was necessary, although all specific sub-test time specifications were carefully adhered to. The additional time was taken in the instruction and practice periods prior to each sub-test proper. The children were generally slow at grasping directions, due primarily to their lack of test-taking experience, and in several instances, to difficulty with oral and written language. They appeared unsure of themselves and at times acted very much like they had never taken a test of this type -- or, for that matter, any group test -- before. They wanted to be certain that they understood the directions correctly, and would constantly compare the pre-test samples they had completed with those of their neighbor, and often asked for help from a proctor. It was obvious in a number of cases that certain words were either not understood or not attended to; for example, they would circle instead of cross out as instructed, and would go across the page when told to go down the page. Despite these difficulties, their interest and attitude toward the testing experience appeared to be exceptionally good. Rapport between administrators and children, the importance of which on such tests is stressed by many investigators, also seemed to be very good.

Reading Test Performance

Reading ability is so obviously dependent upon factors* other than native intelligence that the fact hardly warrants mentioning. However, it is of some importance to recognize the extent to which the reading ability of migrant children is retarded by this configuration of factors which in their case are so largely negative. The reading ability of the children in the 1963 study was found to be retarded, on the average by about two years. The mean chronological age of the 48 children tested was 10.2 years, with a range of 7.1 to 13.8 years, and an S.D. of 1.4 years; while the mean reading age was 8.2 years, with a range of 6.75 to 10.8 years and an S.D. of 1.1 years.

---

* Cf Chapter IV, "Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part I"

There was a significant difference--albeit not a surprising one -- between the retardation of the younger half of the children and that of the older half, the latter being much more marked than that of the former. The method for determining this difference between the age groups for reading ability was to compute a mean difference score for each child which consisted of the difference between his chronological age and his reading age. These scores were summed and averaged. The mean of these difference scores for the younger group was 15.9 months, and for the older group, 31.6 months. The difference of 15.7 between these two means is significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. The children seemed to proceed normally in their reading progress up to the age of about nine years, after which there was a marked decline in their progress. At or prior to the age of nine, 55 per cent received a reading score at or beyond that considered normal at their chronological ages, whereas beyond this age only 5 per cent reached or exceeded their chronological age in reading age. However, since only a quarter of the total group fell at or under age nine, the possibility of a sampling error is much greater than for the older age group.

At lower levels, perceptual and rote learning appear to be the crucial elements in reading progress. In contrast, the more advanced tests make greater abstract and conceptual demands. Thus the younger children were better able to cope with the material at the lower test levels, whereas the older ones simply did not go far beyond the rote level. This may be accounted for by reference to the suggestion of Deutsch cited in the previous chapter* that the chronic stress upon the children produced by the configuration of factors discussed in that chapter makes its effect increasingly felt as it continues to operate upon them; that is, beyond a rather early point it tends to prevent children such as those in this study from advancing at a rate anywhere near that of most children, resulting in an increasingly wide discrepancy between their reading and chronological ages. It is also no doubt due in part to the fact that the experiences of the older and younger children do not differ appreciably, and that the more advanced tests require a broader background of experience which the less advanced tests do not. Experiences which the older children have not had, but which most children their age have had, associated with a higher quality of formal education, enriched extra-curricular activities, travel, television, and a reasonably stimulating environment in which to confront and try out new approaches and ideas.

Studies of migrant children in other states have also shown them to be considerably retarded; and although retardation in other available studies has been measured in terms of grade-age discrepancy rather than the relatively more significant chronological age-reading age discrepancy, some comparison is possible, since there is a close relation between reading age and grade. The least retardation was reported by Manis,[5] in a study of predominantly Anglo migrant children in Michigan; Manis reported little retardation among younger children (6 to 8 years old), while the mean retardation of 9 to 12 year olds was a half a grade, and that of children from 13 to 15 years old was a full grade. Even though the children he studied showed little retardation they exhibited the same pattern of increasing retardation as those in the present study.

---

* Cf Chapter IV, "Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part I".

Petrie,[7] in a study of predominantly Anglo migrant children -- two-thirds Anglo, one-third Mexican-American -- conducted in Oregon, found that only one-third of those in grades 2 through 7 were of the proper grade age, and that the rest were from one to three years older. He did not observe the increasing retardation that other investigators have noted; the fraction of those who were the proper age for the grade they were in remained fairly constant, as did the fraction who were one year over the proper age (roughly one-third), and the fraction who were more than one year over (from one-quarter to one-third).

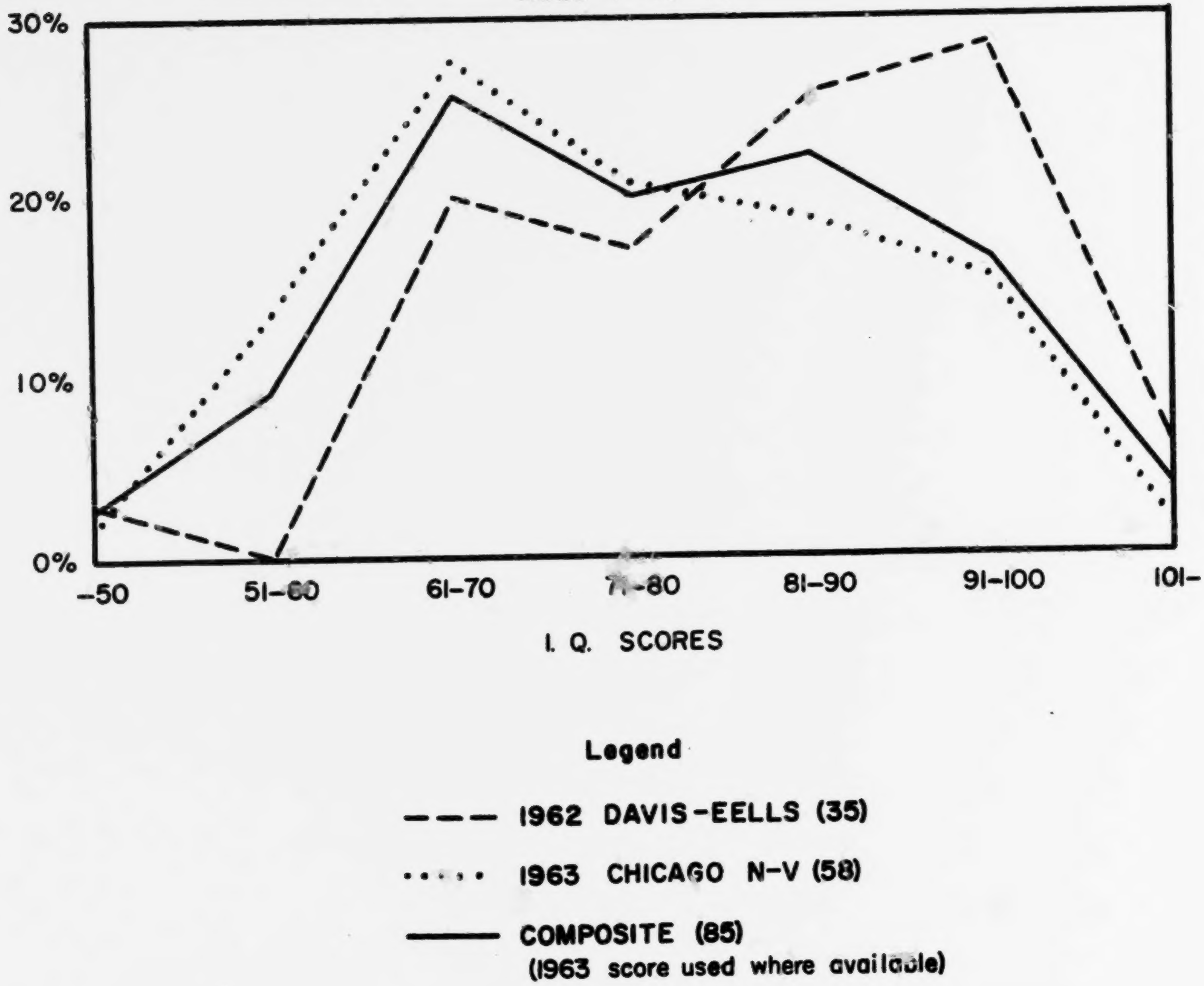
Thomas,[10] who studied a predominantly Mexican-American group of migrant children in Wisconsin, reports a mean retardation in grade placement much closer to that found in the present study: roughly two years. He found that the average child of seven was retarded one year, while the average 8 to 10 year old was retarded approximately two years, and the retardation of the older children averaged from two and a half to three years.

Greene,[4] in a study of white and Negro migrant children in Florida, Virginia, Texas, and Illinois, reports that in the 8 to 10 year old age group there is a median retardation of one year, while in the 11 to 12 year old age group it is two years, and in the older group, three. He found that 56.3 per cent of Florida Negro migrant children studied had grade-age discrepancies, while 40.7 per cent of Florida white migrant children studied, and 85 per cent of Texas Mexican-American migrant children studied, did. Greene also reports similar results from other parts of the country, citing among others, a Colorado study showing grade-age discrepancies on the part of 63 per cent of all seven year-olds studied, and of 100 per cent of the 13 year-old group.

In conclusion, it would seem that the findings of the present study, with reference to both amount and increase of retardation in reading ability, are quite similar to those of many other studies in other migrant groups in other states. The scholastic development of migrant children of all racial groups and sub-groups would seem to be restricted and retarded to much the same degree; and one would suspect that this is because a quite similar configuration of negative factors conspires against such development in all cases.

Intelligence Test Performance

The pattern of scores on the 1962 and 1963 intelligence tests, separated and combined, appear in the following graph, in which it should be noted that at "101 and above", all three lines approach 0% of the population tested; were the entire national I.Q. range to be shown, virtually all of the scores would fall in the lower half of it.



I. Q.s of FLORIDA-BASED NEGRO MIGRANT CHILDREN
AGED 7 to 14

The median I.Q. score on the Davis-Eells Games Test was 84. Only two children received scores of 100 or better. Twenty-three per cent received scores of 70 or lower, the lowest score being 50. Only 14.3 per cent received scores near or above the theoretical national median (that is, higher than 96), and only 60 per cent scored above 80. These scores were higher than those received on the Chicago Non-Verbal Examination, however. The median I.Q. score of children taking that test was 76, and only one child among 58 scored above 100 -- and she was the youngest child examined. Forty-three per cent received scores of 70 or lower. Only 36.2 per cent scored higher than 80, and a mere 5.2 per cent (three children) received scores near or above the national median. The difference between the medians on the two tests -- eight I.Q. points -- corresponds closely to the average difference in the scores of the eight children who took both of the tests -- six points.

If the scores from the two tests are taken together (giving the children their 1963 score where available), the following composite picture emerges: the migrant children tested appear to have a median I.Q. of 79, and an average I.Q. of 77.5. Thirty-seven and seven-tenths per cent received scores of 70 or lower on the tests given them; while only 42.3 per cent scored higher than 80, and a mere 9.4 per cent received scores near or above the national median of 100. With one exception -- that of the youngest child tested, whose score was 127, but whose age was only seven years and one month -- all scores fell within the range between 50 and 103; and while this is a fairly broad range, it -- like the median score -- is displaced downward 20-25 I.Q. points with referance to the national one.

A comparison of the children's chronological and mental ages in the 1963 study reveals a discrepancy similar to that found between their chronological and reading ages: approximately two years. The three ages (in years) are compared in the following table.

TABLE V-1

CHRONOLOGICAL, READING, AND MENTAL AGES OF CHILDREN TESTED IN 1963

	Mean	Range	S.D.
Chronological Age	10.2	7.1-13.8	1.4
Reading Age	8.2	6.7-10.8	1.1
Mental Age	8.1	5.0-10.0	1.3

A two-year discrepancy is a large one, but it corresponds to that found in many studies of the intelligence of Negro children. Newland and Lawrence [6], using the same instrument (viz. the Chicago Non-Verbal Examination), tested 1140 Negro children from Tennessee, and found a discrepancy of at least two years between their mental ages as indicated by their scores and the theoretical national norms for their ages; in fact, the discrepancy was found to grow to three years in the case of the 11 to 14 year-old age group.

It was remarked above that there was a greater discrepancy between the reading and chronological ages of the older children than between those of the younger ones; it is interesting to note, however, that there was no significant difference between the mean I.Q. scores of the same two groups of children: that of the younger group was 77.95, while that of the older group was 75.83. This is in keeping with the trend observed in many studies, that I.Q. scores tend to fall with increasing age among such children, though it is not as pronounced a decline as is often found -- as, for example, by Greene [4]. The reason no doubt is related to the fact that Greene contrasts fifth and eighth graders, whereas the children in the present study were generally younger. There was a significant decline of test score with age, however; a Pearson r was computed between chronological and mental age for the entire 1963 sample, and a coefficient of correlation of -.31 was obtained, which is significant beyond the .05 level. No sex differences were found.

The scores of the children in the present study accorded well with those obtained in other studies. Shuey,[9] on the basis of a large number of studies, estimates that the average rural Southern Negro child has an I.Q. of 77 or 78; the former figure is derived from non-verbal intelligence tests, and the latter from intelligence tests generally. In the present case, if the scores from the 1962 and 1963 tests are taken together, giving the eight children who took both tests their 1963 scores, an average score of 77.5 and a median score of 79 were obtained. Scores comparable to those of rural Southern Negroes are to be expected, since the migrants tested have a rural Southern base, and constitute and isolated community when travelling in the North.

Several other studies of migrant children are available, with which comparisons can be made. Greene[4] reports first quartile, median, and third quartile scores on the Kuhlmann-Finch Intelligence Tests for fifth grade migrant children, both white and Negro, from Florida. Their scores are compared with those from the present study in the following table:

TABLE V-2

Group	No. Scores	First Quartile	Median	Third Quartile
Negroes (Fla.)	62	61.50	70.33	80.50
Present Study	85	68	79	87
Whites (Fla.)	19	62.75	86.50	100.25

One would expect the scores of the Florida Negro children and those of the children in the present study to correspond much more closely, since the latter also winter in Florida; however, the constant difference of roughly seven I.Q. points may be traceable to the fact that the Kuhlmann-Finch test is a standard verbal test, and may have therefore given the Florida Negro children more difficulty than the Davis-Eells and Chicago Non-Verbal tests gave the Florida-based New Jersey children, The differences between medidan and third quartile scores of the latter and the Florida white children are doubtless due to the influence of many factors; however, the size of the white sample renders its scores rather unreliable, as the first quartile scores suggest.

Potts[8] presents data on a very different group of migrant children in Colorado, consisting largely of Mexican-Americans, intermixed with a few Anglos and Indians. He employed a number of different tests, of which he concludes that the Goodenough Intelligence Test is the most reliable of those he used, for a group such as the one he tested; he notes, however, that it correlates significantly with both the Stanford-Binet and the Non-Language Multi-Mental Tests. Of the 272 children given the Goodenough test, he reports that 31.1 per cent received scores of 70 or less, compared with 37.7 per cent in the present study. The percentage receiving scores of 80 or better (43.5 per cent) could hardly have been closer to that in the present study (42.3 per cent). However, 15.5 per cent of the children he tested received scores of better than 100, whereas only 3.5 per cent in the present study did. But generally speaking, his findings are very similar to those of the present study. The median score of the New Jersey Negro migrant children tested was 79, and that of the Colorado Mexican-American migrant children tested was 78.5. Once again, this would lead one to suspect that the poor intelligence test performance of migrant children is traceable to the configuration of non-genetic factors discussed in the previous chapter; for these two groups have them in common to a considerable extent, whereas it would seem doubtful that common genetic factors are at the bottom of the low test performance level of both.

The performance of the children in the present study suggests that the symbolic and abstract character of the test stimulus material was simply outside the range of their experience. The test items demanded that the children go beyond the stimuli and view the items broadly; these children, however, appeared to be stimulus-bound in their problem-solving approach, just as they could not go far beyond the rote level on the reading test. Their concrete, fixed way of thinking enabled them to handle only those items, appearing early in the test, that required the least amount of flexibility and abstract thought. Children whose thought lacks this flexibility and who have not learned to think abstractly will do poorly, not only on standard intelligence tests, but also on tests such as the Chicago Non-Verbal and that of Davis and Eells, in the development of which special pains were taken to be "culture-fair" and fair to children with language difficulty; for while linguistic and cultural bias may be removed to a considerable extent, thus to some degree removing artificial barriers to average performances by "culturally deprived" children, no amount of sensitivity and subtlety in the devising of tests can compensate for their basic developmental and experiential shortcomings, and their failure to have developed the ability to think flexibly and abstractly.

Summary and Conclusion

The intelligence test performances of Negro migrant children have been seen to fall far below the national norm, as has their reading ability. However, they perform no more poorly than do other Southern rural Negro children -- and, other studies show, no more poorly than certain other groups of non-Negro migrant children. This argues not only against the conclusion that the children studied have a mental capacity inferior to that of other Negro children (at least in the South), but also against the conclusion that Negro children have a mental capacity inferior to that of all children of European extraction.

It cannot be denied that Negro children as a group, including migrant

Negro children, perform considerably less well on intelligence tests than white children do. Shuey's review of studies conducted prior to 1958[9] makes this abundantly clear. What can and should be denied, however, is the validity of concluding from existing evidence -- as Shuey does -- that it "points to the presence of some native difference between Negroes and whites . . . ." [9] For while it may be presumed to be certain that different individuals are born with different mental capacities determined by differences of genetic constitution, there are so many other factors which are known to influence intelligence test performance, that inferences concerning innate differences are unjustifiable as long as the influence of these other factors is not carefully controlled and measured. Environmental factors affecting test performance have been discussed in some detail in the previous chapter. The necessity of exercising great caution in drawing inferences from test performances such as those discussed in this chapter should thus be very clear.

Nevertheless, test performance should not be considered insignificant; for while it may not reflect pure native capacity, it does reflect the absence or presence of certain kinds of competence that are highly correlated with full participation and successful functioning in the predominant culture of our part of the world. Those in our society who have not achieved these kinds of competence are, therefore, seriously disadvantaged, and constitute a very major social problem. We should be less concerned with measuring the native capacities of such groups and comparing them with our own, than with developing them and removing the existing obstacles to their development. After we have done so --

and, perhaps, only then -- comparisons will be more meaningful, and will possibly support inferences about native endowment.

In the mean time, we should not be deterred, in our efforts to develop the mental capacities of groups such as the migrant children discussed in this study, by their low test performances; for these, as has been observed, do not necessarily reflect the absence of the ability to learn. Nor should we be discouraged by the difficulty encountered in attempting to teach such children; for we must deal with the effects of many years of chronic stress and deprivation -- and indeed of their continuing operation.

Our aim of course should not be to mold migrant and other culturally-deprived children in our own image; rather, it should be to improve their ability to function in and contribute to the society common to all of us. The problem is not one of securing high scores on intelligence tests for everyone; rather, it is one of developing the capacity of all persons -- as highly as it is practically capable of being developed -- to cope successfully with the various real problems that will arise in the course of their lives.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. W. Brown, Chicago Non-Verbal Examination (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1936).

2. Allison Davis and Kenneth Eells, Davis-Eells Games Test.

3. A. I. Gates, Gates Reading Tests (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958).

4. Shirley E. Greene, The Education of Migrant Children (Washington: Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association of the U.S.A., 1954).

5. Jerome G. Manis, A Study of Migrant Education (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University Press, 1958).

6. Lawrence, W. C. and T. E. Newland, "Chicago Non-Verbal Examination Results on an East Tennessee Negro Population", Journal of Clinical Psychology, January, 1953), p. 44-47.

7. Ronald Petrie and Rex Putnam, Report on the Pilot Program for the Education of Migrant Children (Salem, Oregon: State of Oregon, Department of Education, 1960).

8. Alfred M. Potts, 2d., Providing Education for Migrant Children (Denver: Colorado State Department of Education, 1961).

9. Audrey M. Shuey, The Testing of Negro Intelligence (Virginia: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1958).

10. Donald R. Thomas, Determining an Effective Educational Program for Children of Migratory Workers in Wisconsin (Phase I) (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, School of Education, 1961).

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL BASES OF SCHOLASTIC PERFORMANCE

MAJOR FOCUS AND METHODOLOGY

The barriers to the education of migrant children as they are revealed by an analysis of differential reading ability in one group of Negro and Puerto Rican migrant children will be examined in this chapter. The analysis proceeds by relating differences in reading ability to differences in the children's educational experiences, and work history, as well as differences in parental support of their education. A final section will relate childrens' level of performance in school now to their educational and occupational aspirations.

This procedure enables one to indicate some of the elements in the experience of migrant children which are related to their scholastic achievement.

Under the conditions of the study reading ability or level was the only measure of scholastic achievement available; nevertheless, there is ample justification on the grounds for using it as the measure of scholastic achievement. More than any other scholastic skill, it reflects the cultural background of the child. It is also the single most important scholastic skill, and is basic to most types of specialized scholastic performance.* Riessman [5] and Davis [1] for example, have observed that many underprivileged children are poor readers, and that this is a major cause of their low performance on intelligence tests.

*Cf. Chapter VIII "The Teacher Views the Migrant Child."

The measure of the migrant children's reading abilities is based upon their New Jersey summer school teachers' evaluations of their reading grade levels. Each child read to one of the teachers from one or more of a common set of graded textbooks. The teacher evaluated his or her performance, and recorded the information on the child's data sheet.* Although the study staff neither instituted this evaluation procedure nor had any control over its execution, it was judged to be sound enough to warrant using it as the basis of the measure of reading achievement. The teachers were experienced in this kind of procedure, and they used a common set of graded textbooks for all of the children. Furthermore, a number of the children were evaluated in both 1962 and 1963. Of the 16 students who received these two reading evaluations, only one was reported to have read at a lower level in the second year than he had in the first. This fact serves as a further indication that the evaluation procedure was fairly reliable.

Most of the children were retarded with reference to normal age-reading-grade levels.** When "high achievers" are mentioned in the following discussion, it refers to children who are reading above the median level for the children of their age in the summer school. Because achievement was rated on the basis of the distribution of reading levels among students in the New Jersey summer school, high achievers in this study are not necessarily high achievers according to national standards. In fact many of the children in the high achievement group in this study are retarded in terms of national standards.

*The evaluation procedure and construction of the reading score are discussed in detail in Appendix B.

**CF. Chapter V. "Intelligence and Academic Performance-Part II"

PREVIOUS EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

The kind of prior educational experiences children have had are immediately relevant for their present performance level. Yet some of these prior experiences may have a much greater effect on performance than others. In this section an attempt will be made to sort out those prior educational experiences that are most clearly related to the reading level of the migrant children in this study.

Age at Which Entered School. The reading levels of the children in the study support the thesis that late entry into school is an important factor in scholastic retardation among migrant children. Nearly one-third of the 168 children interviewed reported that they did not enter school until they were seven or older.

The reading levels of these children tend to be lower than those of children who entered school at five or six. Thirty-two per cent of the seventh-year entrants and only 7% of the eighth-year entrants were in the high performance group, while 47% of the fifth- and sixth-year entrants were high performers. (Table VI-1).

TABLE VI-1

READING LEVEL BY AGE WHEN STARTED SCHOOL

	Age When Started School							
	5-6 Years		7 Years		8 Years & Over		NA.	
Reading Level	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	47	(42)	32	(12)	7	(1)	20	(1)
Low	53	(48)	68	(25)	93	(14)	80	(4)
TOTALS	100%	(N=90)	100%	(N=37)	100%	(N-15)	100%	(N=5)

The total number of cases differs from table to table because no answered, do not applies, and, in most cases, don't knows are removed from the tables.

The proportion of high performers in each entrance group--normal and late--was roughly the same among both Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Differences between them were less than 5%. (Table not shown). The only difference between the two ethnic groups on this point was that a greater proportion of the Puerto Ricans were in the seventh- and eighth-year entrance groups than was the case among the Negroes. In brief, our data indicate that the scholastic achievement of a significant proportion of migrant children is being affected by their late entry into the school system, and that this may be more of a problem among the Puerto Ricans than among the Negroes.

Location of the Home Base School. A second factor in the school experience of migrant children which appears to be significantly related to their scholastic achievement and performance is the location of their home base school. Table 2 shows the relation of this variable to performance. It reveals that those children in the test population who attend schools in Southern states other than Florida or in Palm Beach County, Florida, have fewer high performers among them than do those who attend schools in other areas of Florida or in Northern states. Three children whose home base school is in Puerto Rico were all low performers. (Table VI-2).

TABLE VI-2

READING LEVEL BY LOCATION OF HOME BASE SCHOOL

Reading Level	Location of Home Base School													
	Puerto Rico		Palm Beach Cnty., Fla.		Other Southern States		Other Fla. Counties		Broward Cnty., Fla.		Northern States		St. James Cnty., Fla.	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	0	(0)	19	(5)	30	(3)	41	(14)	46	(16)	50	(11)	73	(8)
Low	100	(3)	81	(21)	70	(7)	59	(20)	54	(19)	50	(11)	27	(13)
TOTAL	100%	(N=3)	100%	(N=26)	100%	(N=10)	100%	(N=34)	100%	(N=35)	100%	(N=22)	100%	(N=11)

While migrant children in this study may not be exactly representative of the migrant children wintering in these areas, the data do suggest that some areas may produce more high performers than do others. The configuration in performance levels by location of winter school does indicate the possibility that the quality of the educational facilities available to migrant children varies in different areas. One may object that many children attend more than one school during the winter and that these schools may be in different regions. The data indicate, however, that though children change schools, most children remain in the same area (i.e., town or county), and thus in the same school system.* This lends further support to the thesis that the children's performances reflect differences in the quality of the education they have received.

An attempt was made to discover if the parents of the children from these different areas differed in their views on the importance of education. (In a later section of this chapter the relationship between parental attitudes and their children's performances will be examined in greater detail).

The mothers of the children were asked, "About how much education would you say was necessary for a young person to get by today?" The responses of mothers from various home base areas are compared in Table 3. The aspirations of the migrant mothers varied from area to area. Mothers whose home base is in Palm Beach County or other Florida counties had relatively low aspirations. On the other hand, nearly all of the mothers whose home base is in Northern states--or in St. Johns County, Florida--said that a high school education or better is necessary to get by today. (Table VI-3).

---

*CF. Chapter II. "A Profile of Migrant School Children"

TABLE VI-3

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION MOTHER THINKS NECESSARY TO GET BY BY LOCATION OF HOME BASE SCHOOL

Mother Thinks Amount of Education Necessary to get by is:	Location of Home Base School													
	Puerto Rico		Palm Beach Cnty., Fla.		Other Southern States		Other Fla. Counties		Broward Cnty., Fla.		Northern States		St. Johns Cnty., Fla.	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Grade 11 or More	50	(1)	26	(6)	45	(4)	54	(13)	57	(17)	81	(17)	100	(9)
Grade 10 or Less	50	(1)	74	(17)	55	(5)	46	(11)	43	(13)	19	(4)	-	(-)
TOTALS	100%	(N=2)	100%	(N=23)	100%	(N=9)	100%	(N=24)	100%	(N=30)	100%	(N=21)	100%	(N=9)

When Tables 2 and 3 are compared, it is apparent that the areas in which parental aspirations are relatively high tend to be the areas in which children's performance levels are better. The families in this study may not be exactly representative of the migrant population of these areas; but our findings clearly indicate that the home base location is related to children's scholastic achievement and to their parents' attitudes toward education.

Number of Schools Attended.4) One of the aspects of the migrant child's school experience often mentioned in the literature as having a harmful effect upon his scholastic achievement is his frequent change of schools. The difficulties this produces have been noted in studies of the education of migrant children in many parts of the country.*

The data obtained by comparing the number of schools the children in the present study attended with their performance levels do not support this thesis. Table 4 shows that there is no clear relationship between the number of schools these children have attended and their reading performances. (The number of cases in this table is lower than in most others because it is based on replies to the 1963 supplement.) (Table VI-4)

---

*Cf. Greene's study of migrant children in Texas, Illinois, Florida, and Virginia (2), and Potts' study of migrant children in Colorado (4).

TABLE VI-4

READING LEVEL BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED

Reading Level	Number of Schools Attended							
	1		2		3		4	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	33	(13)	48	(15)	39	(7)	50	(2)
Low	67	(26)	52	(16)	61	(11)	50	(2)
TOTAL	100%	(N=39)	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=18)	100%	(N=4)

This table does not really speak to the contention of Greene, Potts, and others. Not many children in this study have attended more than two schools, and very few more than three. This situation is not the "frequent change" that such authors have in mind. New Jersey migrants must be distinguished from migrants in many other parts of the country, in that they often remain at their winter base for the entire school year, or at least for most of it. The result is that New Jersey migrant children, unlike many other migrant children, are not on the road during most of the regular school year, and so do not have to change schools every few weeks or months--the kind of frequent change which is most harmful to educational progress. The few changes in schools reported by the children in the present study represent in many cases moves from one school to another in the same community or county. They appear to be similar in nature to the moves of the "floaters" in urban slums. The data do not permit a test to see if several moves of this sort affects children's educational progress, because so few children in the study sample attended three or more schools. In short, the findings in this study indicate that attending several schools (usually in the same locality) did not materially affect the educational progress of the children. The effects of frequent moves during the school year on performance levels could not be tested with the data available.

Previous Attendance at New Jersey Summer Schools. It is possible that the children's reading performances might reflect whether or not they had attended previous summer school programs in New Jersey or elsewhere. If a higher proportion of those who have attended such programs than of those who have not are high performers, this fact might be taken as some indication that summer school can make an important contribution to the migrant child's educational advancement. As Table 5 shows, however, there was little relationship between previous summer school attendance and reading levels. (Table VI-5).

TABLE VI-5

READING LEVEL BY PREVIOUS ATTENDANCE AT SUMMER SCHOOL

Reading Level	Previous Attendance at Summer School	
	Yes	No
High	36 (26)	41 (30)
Low	64 (47)	59 (44)
TOTAL	100% (N=73)	100% (N=74)

This finding should not be taken to imply, however, that the summer schools do not accomplish a great deal; it merely indicates that the reading levels among children who have attended summer schools two or more years are not higher than among children attending summer school for the first time. Summer school sessions are short, and this makes it difficult to accomplish a great deal academically.* In addition few children have attended the schools for more than two summers. Academic work is not necessarily the most important part of the summer school program. Most of the teachers in the New Jersey summer schools indicated they felt that social development and adjustment were most important. They point out that the summer schools fulfill an important function in attempting to instill in migrant children favorable attitudes toward school and toward themselves in relation to school. These efforts should have an effect upon schievement and performance in the long run.

---

*CF. Chapter VIII. "The Teacher Views the Migrant Child" and Chapter XI. "Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility"

In brief, the findings of this study reveal little relationship between previous summer school attendance and reading performance; but this fact should not be taken to cast doubt upon the importance of summer schools for migrant children.

Reading Outside of School. The children's reading level was found to be related to the amount of reading they had done in the week prior to the interview. (Table VI-6).

TABLE VI-6

READING LEVEL BY AMOUNT OF READING OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL DURING PREVIOUS WEEK

Reading Level:	Number of Things Read Outside of School During Previous Week					
	0 to Part of 1		1 - 4		5 or More	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	34	(13)	46	(23)	62	(8)
Low	66	(25)	54	(27)	38	(5)
TOTAL	100%	(N=38)	100%	(N=50)	100%	(N=13)

To be sure, the quality of the things they had read was quite low; many of the items were comic books, and very few had read from books. Nevertheless, it would appear that a child is more likely to be a high performer if he is in the habit of reading anything outside of school. This habit provides him with important practice in this skill. Field workers report that very few printed materials are in evidence in migrant homes, and that the magazines and comics that are to be seen are read by adults as well as children.* Since outside reading is positively related to a high reading level it would be well to encourage any tendency to do outside reading. A program to encourage outside reading by children is presented in Chapter XI.

---

*Cf. Chapter IX. "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education"

PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND BACKGROUND

It is a major contention of many writers of scholastic achievement and performance that the achievement and performance of children in school is greatly influenced by the educational aspirations their parents have for them and by the interest their parents take in their education.

Attitudes of Mothers Toward Education. The data from this study indicate that migrants are no exception to this rule. As Table 7 shows, the reading levels of the children are positively related to their mothers' views concerning how much education is necessary to get by in our society today. Only 22% of the children whose mothers said a person could get by with an eighth grade education or less were high performers compared with 55% of those whose mothers said that a high school education or better was necessary.

TABLE VI-7

READING LEVEL BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION MOTHER THINKS NECESSARY TO GET BY

Reading Level:	Mother Thinks Amount of Education Necessary to Get by is							
	0-8th Grade		9-11th Grade		12th Grade, Some College, Tech. School		College-College Plus	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	22	(6)	28	(10)	55	(31)	--	--
Low	78	(21)	72	(26)	45	(25)	100	(2)
TOTAL	100%	(N=27)	100%	(N=36)	100%	(N=56)	100%	(N=2)

In addition the reasons mothers gave for migrant children dropping out of school show a strong relationship to their childrens' reading levels. Mothers were asked:

> "Few children of people who follow the crops graduate from high school. Do you think this happens mostly because the children lose interest in school, because parents don't see any use in high school, or because their families can't afford to send them to high school?"

Some mothers chose more than one reason. The reasons mothers gave are compared with their childrens' reading levels in Table 8. (Table VI-8).

TABLE VI-8

READING LEVEL BY REASON MOTHER GIVES FOR STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL AND ETHNICITY

	Mothers Think Students Drop Out of School Because:					
Reading Level:	Families Can't Afford Schooling		Children and/or Parents Lose Interest Don't See Value		Other	
	Negro or White					
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	28	(15)	61	(25)	50	(1)
Low	72	(38)	39	(17)	50	(1)
TOTAL	100%	(N=53)	100%	(N=38)	100%	(N=2)
	Puerto Rican					
High	26	(6)	33	(1)	33	(1)
Low	74	(17)	67	(2)	67	(2)
TOTAL	100%	(N=23)	100%	(N=3)	100%	(N=3)

Nearly all of the Puerto Rican mothers said children dropped out for financial reasons; too few gave other answers for the relationships between the answers and their children's reading level to be significant. Among Negroes, 28% of the children whose mothers gave financial reasons for children dropping out of school were low performers. In contrast to this, 61% of the

Negro children whose mothers indicated that they felt drop-outs were caused by a failure on the part of either the parents ("they don't see the value") or the children ("they lose interest") were high performers. The former group of mothers seem to feel that children do not finish high school because of factors beyond the control of themselves and their children, whereas the latter group seems to feel that whether or not children finish is very much up to the families concerned. The implication of this finding is quite clear. The latter view expresses a set of parental attitudes toward education that is very much more conducive to educational progress than does the former.

Table 9 shows the relationship between the reasons mothers gave for children dropping out of school and the amount of education mothers think is necessary to get by. Negro mothers who said that children leave school because their families cannot afford to send them are more likely than mothers who mention lack of interest by parents or children to say that a person can get by with less than a high school education. Eighty per cent of the mothers in the latter group said that a person needs a high school education or better to get by compared with 41% of those in the former. It would appear that mothers who stress the importance of motivational factors in school drop outs rather than financial considerations tend to have higher standards for essential education. (Table VI-9).

TABLE VI-9

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION MOTHER THINKS NECESSARY TO GET BY BY REASON MOTHER GIVES FOR STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

Mother's Idea of Amount of Education Necessary to Get by:	Families Can't Afford Schooling		Children Lose Interest and/or Parents Don't See Value	
	%	N	%	N
0-11	59	(44)	20	(9)
High School or Better	41	(31)	80	(35)
TOTAL	100%	(N=75)	100%	(N=44)

Table 10 compares the reading levels of children with the amount of education their mothers feel is necessary, holding constant the reasons mothers gave for children dropping out of school. Among those children whose mothers said that children drop out of school because their parents can't afford to send them, the relationship between amount of education considered necessary and reading level disappears. There is a positive relationship, however, between reading level and education considered necessary among children whose mothers attribute school drop-outs to lack of interest on part of parents or children. The relationship, however, is not as strong as the relationship in Table 7 between performance and amount of education mothers consider necessary.

TABLE VI-10

READING LEVEL BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION MOTHER THINKS IS NECESSARY TO GET BY AND REASON MOTHER GIVES FOR STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

Reading Level	Mother Thinks Students Drop Out of School Because: Families Can't Afford Schooling				Children Lose Interest and/or Parents Don't See Value			
	Mother Thinks Amount of Education Necessary to Get by:							
	0-11th Grade		H.S. or Better		0-11 Grade		H.S. or Better	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	27	(12)	27	(9)	44	(4)	60	(21)
Low	73	(32)	71	(22)	56	(5)	40	(14)
TOTAL	100%	(N=44)	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=9)	100%	(N=35)

It would seem that the recognition by a family that continued education is not financially possible acts as an over-riding depressant on children's academic performance. In contrast where families recognize the importance of motivation by parents and children for continued education, conceptions about the amount of education that is essential (i.e. the family's own motivation) has an effect on the childrens' performance in elementary school.

Children's Perception of Parental Attitudes. Parental attitudes toward education affect children's performance in school to the extent that they influence his behavior. In some cases parental attitudes can be expressed directly by doing such things as sending children to school or keeping them at home. On the other hand, the attitudes that have been examined thus far affect students in a more subtle fashion by altering the students, own orinetations toward school. The type of influence depends, not so much on parents' attitudes, as on children's perception of their attitudes. For this reason students' perceptions of their parents attitudes toward summer school are compared with their performance level rather than the mothers' reports of the attitudes she and her husband (or other adults in the family) held.

Adult Support for Summer School Attendance. When children were asked, "Which of the grown-ups in your family do you think wants you to go to school here (in the New Jersey summer school) the most?" They most frequently said their mother. A fairly large number reported that both parents wanted them to come. Only a few mentioned other female relatives or the father, even though some of them chose more than one category of adult.

When reading level is related to the adult in the family most interested in sending the children to summer school, however, the father appears in a very different light. (Table VI-11). The proportion of students with a high reading level is much greater among students who chose father than among those who chose both parents or a female relative. Although based on a very few cases, this finding suggests that the father tends to play a contradictory role in children's school performance. It would seem that he is not likely to be especially interested in the children's attending school, but if he is interested, the children tend to perform better.

TABLE VI-11

READING LEVEL BY ADULT PERCEIVED BY STUDENT TO BE MOST INTERESTED IN SENDING HIM TO SUMMER SCHOOL

Reading Level	Adult Perceived to be Most Interested in Sending Student to Summer School							
	Mother Only		Grandmother, Sister Other Female Relative		Both Parents		Father, Other Male Only	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	34	(20)	28	(5)	39	(24)	69	(9)
Low	66	(39)	72	(13)	61	(38)	31	(4)
TOTAL	100%	(N=59)	100%	(N=18)	100%	(N=62)	100%	(N=13)

These relationships point to the possibility that the father in the migrant family may play a more important role in the school orinetation of children than is commonly supposed. An examination in the following chapter of the relationship between the father's interest in sending children to school and their expectations of continuing their education leaned further support to this view.

REASONS STUDENTS THINK

Parents Send Them to Summer School. The relation of children's attitudes toward academic work and the attitudes toward school found in the home was tested in another way. The reading levels of students who felt their parents sent them to school in order to learn were compared with the reading levels of students who felt their parents were most interested in the care and services provided by the school.

Table 12 shows that students' academic performance is indeed related to the reasons they thought their parents had for sending them to summer school. Students who thought their parents were interested in having them learn are more likely to be in the high performance group than students who attributed non-academic motives to their parents. The proportion of high performers is especially low among students who felt their parents sent them to school to get them "out of the way." (Table VI-12).

TABLE VI-12

READING LEVEL BY STUDENT'S PERCEPTION OF REASON PARENTS WOULD WANT HIM TO ATTEND SUMMER SCHOOL

Reading Level	Student Thinks Parents Send Him to Summer School to:					
	Learn or Improve Job Prospects		Get Out of theWay		Other*	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	45	(54)	30	(6)	35	(9)
Low	55	(65)	70	(14)	65	(17)
TOTAL	100%	(N=119)	100%	(N=20)	100%	(N=26)

*e.g. Health program, free hot lunches, etc.

This finding offers dramatic evidence of the way in which children's perception of parental attitudes can affect the level at which they perform in school. It is readily apparent that parental attitudes are a major factor influencing the performance of the children in this study, even at this early stage in the normal educational process.

Mother's Education. A factor frequently held to influence both the child's attitude toward education and his educational progress is the amount of education of his parents. It of course, does not influence the child directly, but is held to influence him indirectly, through his parents' attitudes toward his education (such as those examined above) and their support of the goals of the educational system. Strangely enough, however, in the case of the migrant population under examination, the expected relationship is found not only to be lacking, but actually to be reversed to some extent. As Table 13 shows, the greatest percentage of high achievers (sixty per cent) is to be found among those children whose mothers completed either grade four, five, or six. The proportion drops off sharply in each of the next two mothers' grade groups (seventh and eighth grades, and ninth and tenth grades).

It rises again for children whose mothers had gone beyond tenth grade, although not to the fouth to sixth grade level. Virtually none of the Puerto Rican mothers had gone beyond sixth grade (contrasted with three in five of the Negro mothers), and three-fifths had not gone beyond third grade (contrasted with only thirteen per cent of the Negroes). Nevertheless, the same unusual relationship may be seen to exist among the Puerto Ricans. A higher proportion of mothers in the less educated group than in the more educated group have children who are high performers.(Table VI-13)

TABLE VI-13

READING LEVEL BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY

Reading Level	Mother's Education									
Grade:	0-3		4-6		7-8		9-10		11-12	
					Negro or White					
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	25	(3)	60	(15)	42	(13)	15	(2)	50	(6)
Low	75	(9)	40	(10)	58	(18)	85	(11)	50	(6)
TOTAL	100%	(N=12)	100%	(N=25)	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=13)	100%	(N=12)
					Puerto Rican					
High	33	(6)	11	(1)	100	(1)	--	(-)	--	(-)
Low	67	(12)	89	(8)	--	(-)	--	(-)	100%	(1)
TOTAL	100%	(N=18)	100%	(N=9)	100%	(N=1)	100%	(N=0)	100%	(N=1)

It may be that this sample is a special one, even among migrants, and that this data therefore does not count as a serious objection to the general proposition that a greater amount of education of parents will tend to have a positive influence upon the scholastic achievement and performance of their children. It may also be that this proposition holds only for considerable differences in amount of education as, for example, if the performances of children of college graduates were compared with those of children of high school or grade school graduates. But this would still not explain why in these particular families performance seems to be related almost inversely to more education on the part of the mother. One thing is clear: Since the education of the mothers is not related consistently either with their children's performances or with their own educational aspirations for their children (tabulation not shown), their interest in their children's education must derive from some source other than their own educational background.

ABSENCES FROM SCHOOL AND WORK

One factor that can be expected to affect the educational progress of migrant children negatively is the fact that many of them from a very early age are called upon by their parents to care for still younger siblings in order that their mother and older siblings can work in the fields or to work in the fields themselves. These demands often take the children out of school, cut heavily into their time and energy, and introduce them to adult responsibility from the time they are old enough to enter school.

There is a fairly strong relationship between absences and reading level among the students in this study, as Table 14 shows. The majority of students said that they are absent from school during the school year. The percentage of high performers is considerably greater among those who say they are absent than among those who say they are not.

TABLE VI-14

READING LEVEL BY WHETHER OR NOT STUDENT SAYS HE IS SOMETIMES ABSENT FROM SCHOOL

Reading Level	Student Says He is Sometimes Absent From School			
	Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N
High	44	(42)	27	(14)
Low	56	(53)	73	(37)
TOTAL	100%	(N=95)	100%	(N=51)

When the children who said they were absent were asked why, however, the great majority of the high performers said it was simply because they were sick, while a majority of the low performers listed work or other reasons. (Table VI-15).

TABLE VI-15

READING LEVEL BY STUDENT'S REASONS FOR ABSENCES FROM SCHOOL

Reading Level:	Student's Reasons for Absences from School					
	Sick		Help in Home or Work in Fields		Other	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	58	(29)	44	(15)	19	(4)
Low	42	(21)	56	(19)	81	(17)
TOTAL	100%	(N=50)	100%	(N=34)	100%	(N=21)

Although multiple answers were allowed to the question on which Table 14 is based, the relationships in this table show a negative relationship between work connected absenses from school (or any absence not due to illness) and low achievement.

On the other hand, the low reading level associated with absence from school in order to work appears to reflect more the absence than the work. Children who said they had worked in the fields with their parents at one time or another were no more likely to have a low reading level than children who had not worked. (Table 16). In fact, there is a positive relationship between working and reading level. Permitting children to work when school is not in session may be objected to on many grounds. The findings in this study, however, do not indicate that field work, of itself, is an aspect of migrant life that is especially detrimental to migrant childrens' performance in elementary school. The extremely deleterious effects of participation in agricultural labor on the prospects for childrens' continuing into secondary school are pointed out in Chapter X.

TABLE VI-16

READING LEVEL BY WHETHER OR NOT STUDENT WORKS ON FARM WITH PARENTS

Reading Level:	Whether Student Works on Farm with Parents:			
	Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N
High	41	(48)	29	(8)
Low	59	(70)	71	(20)
TOTAL	100%	(N=118)	100%	(N=28)

ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Attitudes Toward Continuing in School. Is children's performance in elementary school related to their desire to finish secondary school and to their expectation of doing so?

In an attempt to answer this question the children in the summer schools were asked whether, when they were 16 and school attendance was no longer required by law, they would *like* to continue in school or quit and go to work.

The overwhelming majority said they would rather stay in school. Ninety-five percent of the high performers gave this answer. The proportion of low performers is somewhat less (81%) although still very high. (Table VI-17).

TABLE VI-17

WHETHER STUDENT WOULD CHOOSE HIGH SCHOOL OR WORK AT AGE 16 BY READING LEVEL

Students Would Choose	Reading Level High		Low	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	95	(53)	81	(72)
Quit and Start to Work	5	(3)	19	(17)
TOTAL	100	(N=56)	100%	(N=89)

The replies of the children to a question asking if they expect to remain in school when they are old enough to quit indicate that a considerable number who would like to continue in school expect to drop out. Still, 70% of the high performers and 64% of the low performers said that they expected to stay in school (Table 18). The slight positive association between performance and expectations is not great enough to support the thesis that relatively high performance in elementary school has much affect on the plans these children have for continuing their education.

TABLE VI-18

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY READING LEVEL

Student Expects to:	Reading Level			
	High		Low	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	70	(38)	64	(56)
Quit and Start to Work	30	(16)	36	(31)
TOTAL	100%	(N=54)	100%	(N=87)

The findings in Tables 17 and 18 offer dramatic evidence of the frustrations that encumber migrant children as they struggle through the difficult process of learning basic academic skills. Many of them are preparing for a school career which they foresee will be cut off abruptly even though they believe they would want it to continue. The implications of such a set of attitudes for motivation to perform well are too obvious to mention.

Occupational Aspirations. It is a moot question whether the performance level of elementary school children can be expected to show a relationship to occupational aspirations. Table 19 shows thatamong the children in this study there is not much relationship between these two variables. There is, however, an interesting tendency for students with a high reading level to choose farm work less often than students whose reading level is low. (Table VI-19).

TABLE VI-19

READING LEVEL BY OCCUPATION WOULD LIKE TO ENTER

Student Would Like An Occupation That is:	Reading Level High %	N	Low %	N
Professional, Clerical or Sales	28	(15)	22	(18)
Service, (not domestic), Skilled, or Semi-skilled	17	(9)	24	(20)
Unskilled	20	(11)	16	(13)
Farmer or Farm Laborer	26	(14)	36	(30)
Other	9	(5)	2	(2)
TOTAL	100%	(N=54)	100%	(N=83)

One of the most impressive aspects of the table is the relatively low level of occupational aspirations expressed by the students. Even though they were asked what occupation they wanted to enter rather than the occupation they expected to enter, nearly half of them chose unskilled work or farm labor (only two students chose farm operator). These responses throw into sharp relief the narrow horizons of the world in which these children dwell.

SUMMARY

Perhaps this study's most important finding is the relatively strong relationship between the scholastic achievement of migrant children and the attitudes of their parents toward education. Children whose mothers think that a high school education or better is necessary to get by in our society today (Table 7) were more likely to have a high reading level. So did students whose mothers thought lack of interest by parents and children was the most important reason for children dropping out of school rather than economic hardship (Table 9). Finally a high reading level is related to children's beliefs that their parents sent them to school to learn rather than for non-academic reasons (Table 12 . The contradictory role of the father in children's education is revealed by two relationships. First, he is seldom cited as the parent most interested in sending the children to summer school. Second, when he is interested the children tend to have a high reading level. (Table 11).

It was also found that the age at which children enter school (Table 1), and the geographic area in which their home base school is located (Table 2), tend to influence their scholastic achievement. Late entrants tend to be low performers. Also, students from certain areas in the South tend to perform less than students from other Southern localities or from the North. Furthermore, it would seem that children who do outside reading, no matter how poor the quality of what they read, are more likely to be high performers than children who do not. (Table 6).

Very little relationship was found between reading level and children's occupational aspirations, (Table 19) or educational expectations (Table 19). Reading level, however, was positively related to educational desires (Table 17).

Reading level was not consistently related to either the number of different schools the children had attended (Table 4), or the number of summer school sessions attended (Table 5).

Absences from school in order to work in the fields or help out at home were negatively related to high performance (Table 15). On the other hand, the fact that students had worked in the fields (without necessarily being absent from school) showed little relationship to reading level (Table 16).

Contrary to expectations there was no consistent relationship between mother's education and performance level (Table 13). The finding clearly calls for further research aimed at studying the way a mother's own educational background is related to her attitudes toward education and to her children's orientation toward school.

FOOTNOTES

1. Allison Davis, Social-Class Influence Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).

2. Shirley E. Greene, The Education of Migrant Children (Washington: Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association of the United States, 1954).

3. Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification" in Class Status and Power, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 426-442.

4. Alfred M. Potts, 2nd., Providing Education for Migrant Children (Denver, Colorado: State Department of Education, 1961).

5. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

CHAPTER VII

THE ANTICIPATION OF CONTINUED EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Most of the children in the study sample are years away from their 16th birthday. Few of them have any real understanding as yet of what it means to go to high school. They do, however, have some general notion about whether or not they will stay in school as they move into adolescence. It is this perception that the study hoped to capture when the children were asked:

> Not counting what you'd like to do, when you
> get old enough so you don't have to go to
> school anymore do you think you'll really
> stay in school or quit and start to work?

Only eight children failed to answer this question. Of those who answered it, sixty-four per cent said they would stay in school.

In what ways do the children who anticipate remaining in school differ from those who do not? What can we learn from such a comparison about the factors that lead some children to anticipate a foreshortened education?

This chapter examines the relationship of children's educational expectations to (1) their sex and ethnic background, (2) their previous school experiences and feelings about school, (3) the assumption of responsibilities in the family, (4) their perception of their parents attitudes toward their continued education (as well as the parent's actual attitudes), (5) the general family environment, (6) the family's pattern of migration, and (7) the income and occupational aspirations of the children.

Ethnic Background and Sex

The percentage of Negro children who expected to remain in school after they were old enough to quit and go to work was slightly higher (67%) among Negro children than among Puerto Rican children (57%). (TableVII-1).

TABLE VII-1

STUDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND SEX

Students Expect to:	Sex: Male		Sex: Female		TOTAL	
	Negro or White					
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	64	(34)	69	(44)	67	(78)
Quit & Start to work	36	(19)	31	(20)	33	(39)
TOTAL	100%	(N=53)	100%	(N=64)	100%	(N=117)
	Puerto Rican					
Stay in School	32	(7)	82	(18)	57	(25)
Quit & Start to work	68	(15)	18	(4)	43	(19)
TOTAL	100%	(N=22)	100%	(N=22)	100%	(N=44)

The total number of cases differs from table to table because no answers, do not applies, and, in most cases, don't knows are removed from the tables.

In both groups, girls tend more often than boys to think they will be "stay-ins" rather than "drop-outs"; but the difference between the expectations of boys and girls in the Negro group is small (64% compared with 69%), whereas the difference in the Puerto Rican group is large (32% compared with 82%). (Table VII-2).

TABLE VII-2

STUDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND AGE

Students Expect to:	Negro or White				Puerto Rican			
	Age				Age			
	7 - 9 Years		10 - 15 Years		7 - 9 Years		10 - 15 Years	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	62	(45)	77	(33)	52	(14)	65	(11)
Quit & Start to work	38	(28)	23	(10)	48	(13)	35	(6)
TOTAL	100%	(N=73)	100%	(N=43)	100%	(N=27)	100%	(N=17)

The replies of the older children differ from those of the younger ones. Older children among both Negroes and Puerto Ricans were more likely than younger to say they expected to stay in school

SCHOOL EXPERIENCES AND FEELINGS ABOUT SCHOOL

Age at Which Entered School

A smaller percentage of children who entered school when they were older than seven said they expected to stay in school than did children who entered at an earlier age. (Table VII-3).

TABLE VII-3

STUDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY AGE WHEN STARTED SCHOOL

Students Expect to:	Age When Starting School					
	5 - 6		7		8-10 & over	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	67	(64)	68	(28)	47	(9)
Quit and Start to Work	33	(32)	32	(13)	53	(10)
TOTAL	% 100	(N=96)	100%	(N=41)	100%	(N=19)

This finding suggests the important part a normal start on a school career plays in integrating children into the student role. The fact that one child in eight in our sample started school at eight years of age or older points up the fact that this handicap, if not common, may not be rare. The questions this finding raises about the influence of the family on children's orientation toward school will be taken up in another context.

Previous Schooling

It might be thought that a relationship exists between the children's expectations and their previous schooling, in particular the location of their winter schools. The data indicate, however, that little relationship exists between expectations and this factor (Table VII-4).

TABLE VII-4

STUDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY LOCATION OF HOME BASE SCHOOL

Location of Home Base School	Students Expect to:					
	Stay in School		Quit and Start to Work		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Broward County	55	(21)	45	(17)	100%	(38)
Dade County	83	(5)	17	(1)	100%	(6)
Palm Beach County	67	(20)	33	(10)	100%	(30)
St. John's County	90	(9)	10	(1)	100%	(10)
Other Fla. Counties	67	(20)	33	(10)	100%	(30)
Other Southern States	42	(5)	58	(7)	100%	(12)
Puerto Rico	50	(2)	50	(2)	100%	(4)
Northern States	70	(16)	30	(7)	100%	(23)

Actually, the relationship between students' home base and expectations of continuing in school tends to be the opposite of what the association between home base location and performance would lead one to anticipate. Since the location of the home base school shows little relationship to expectations but a marked association with performance, it would appear that somewhat different factors affect performance and expectations. The lack of a strong relationship between performance and expectations has already been shown in the previous chapter.

Attitudes Toward School

Apparently, students expectations of leaving school to work when they are sixteen do not reflect widespread negative attitudes toward school. Only 25% of the students who expect to drop out of school said they would choose to drop out, and only 10% of students who expect to stay said that they would choose to leave school. (Table VII-5).

TABLE VII-5

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF WHETHER STUDENT WOULD CHOOSE HIGH SCHOOL OR WORK AT AGE 16

Students Would Choose:	Students Expect to:			
	Stay in School		Quit and Start to Work	
	%	N	%	
High School	90	(92)	75	(43)
Work	10	(10)	25	(14)
TOTAL	100%	(N=102)	100%	(N=57)

Even though the proportion of students choosing to drop out of school is larger among students who expect to leave school than among those who do not, the proportions are small for both groups.

A similiar array of findings was obtained when children were asked whether they would rather play all day, go to school all day, take care of younger siblings, or work. The great majority (78%) of those expecting to drop out said that their first choice would be to go to school all day. The figure for those expecting to stay in was 90% (Table VII-6).

TABLE VII-6

WHETHER STUDENT WOULD CHOOSE WORKING, BABY SITTING, PLAYING OR SCHOOL BY STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL

First Choice: What Student Would Like to do	Students Expect to: Stay in School		Quit and Go to Work	
	%	N	%	
Playing All Day	2	(2)	8	(5)
Going to Summer School	90	(93)	78	(46)
Baby Sitting	7	(7)	7	(4)
Working	1	(1)	7	(4)
Total	100%	(N=103)	100%	(N=59)

When students were asked how long they would like the school day to be roughly the same proportions in the two expectation groups said that they would like summer school to last until five p.m. rather than 3 p.m. (Table VII-7).

TABLE VII-7

WHETHER STUDENT WOULD RATHER ATTEND SCHOOL TO 3 P.M. OR 5 P.M. BY EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENTS CONTINUING IN SCHOOL

Prefers School Closing at:	Students Expect to: Stay in School		Quit and Start to Work	
	%	N	%	N
5 P.M.	29	(28)	36	(21)
3 P.M.	71	(69)	64	(37)
Total	100%	(N=97)	100%	(N=58)

Actually the percentage choosing the longer day was slightly higher (36%) among students who expect to drop out than among students who expect to continue (29%).

These three sets of findings suggest that there is some relationship between the children's positive attitudes toward their current school experiences and their expectations about continuing in school. Such large proportions of students expecting to drop out exhibit positive attitudes, however, it is difficult to conceive of this factor as having an important effect on expectations.

Perceptions of Teacher's Attitudes

Teachers represent a particularly important part of the elementary school child's school experiences. In indoctrinating migrant children into the middle class values of the school, they act as chief liaison to the larger society. One can anticipate that less than whole hearted acceptance by teachers will affect migrant children's expectations about continuing to participate in the middle class-like world of the school and through this institution the larger society itself.

To test this idea children were asked how much they felt their teachers like them and the replies were compared with their expectations. There is indeed a positive association between students' belief that teachers like them a lot and their expectations of continuing in school (Table VII-8).

TABLE VII-8

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY SEX AND PERCEIVED TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

Students Expect to:	Male				Female			
	Perceived Teachers' Attitudes							
	Teachers Like a Lot		Teachers Like Pretty Much or a Little		Teachers Like a Lot		Teachers Like Pretty Much or a Little	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	67	(18)	48	(21)	68	(21)	78	(35)
Quit and Start to Work	33	(9)	52	(23)	32	(10)	22	(10
Total	100%	(N=27)	100%	(N=44)	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=45)

The relationship is marked for boys but not strong for girls. This finding is one of the few instances where sizable differences in the responses of boys and girls were found.

In spite of the relationship between the children's perception of acceptancy by teachers and their educational expectations, previous school experiences and attitudes toward sch9ol do not show a generally strong relationship to these expectations. It is clear that expectations about continuing in school must be, in great part. determined by some other set of factors.

WORK AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FAMILY

A large majority of the children interviewed said that they both work in the fields with their parents and take care of their younger brothers and sisters. These are significant experiences in the lives of these children, since they not only occupy much of their time and attention, but also introce them into the adult world of work at a very early age.

*How does work in the fields and the assumption of responsibilities in the family affect children's scholastic expectations?

Work in Fields

Of the total of 168 children interviewed, 81% reported that they work in the fields with their parents, some frequently and some less so. If the non-workers are compared with the workers with reference to their scholastic expectations, a slight difference emerges: 70% of the former expect to remain in school whereas only 63% of the latter do. (TableVII-9).

TABLE VII-9

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY WHETHER THE STUDENT WORKS ON FARM WITH THE PARENTS

Student Expects to:	Whether Student Works on Farm with Parents			
	Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	63	(81)	70	(20)
Quit and Start to Work	37	(48)	30	(9)
TOTAL	100%	(N=129)	100%	(N=29)

However, the significance of this difference is questionable. It is small and so is the number of non-workers. Introduction of the variable of sex produced no major change in the relationship.

A major change was discovered, however, when the variable of ethnicity

---

*"The Economics of Ignorance" Chapter X. The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education.

was introduced. It was found that the relationship between expectations and work in the fields was very different for Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Among the Negro children, not working in the fields was strongly associated with expecting to remain in school; 86% of those who do not work in the fields expect to remain, while only 63% of the workers do. Among the Puerto Rican children, however, the relationship is reversed. Sixty-four per cent worksers expect to stay in school compared with only 25% of the non-workers. (Table VII-10).

TABLE VII-10

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND WHETHER STUDENT WORKS ON FARM WITH PARENT

Student Expects to:	Negro or White				Puerto Rican			
	Student Works on Farm with Parents							
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
%	%	N	5%	N	5%	N	%	N
Stay in School	63	(60)	86	(18)	64	(21)	25	(2)
Quit and Start to Work	37	(36)	14	(3)	36	(12)	75	(6)
Total	100%	(N=96)	100%	(N=21)	100%	(N=33)	100%	(N=8)

Thus while roughly equal percentages of the two groups of children who work in the fields plan to stay in school, the absence of this experience seems to have opposite effects on the two groups. Again, doubt is cast upon the significance of the data for the Puerto Rican non-workers. By the fact that they numbered only eight.

Caring for Siblings

Sixty-three per cent of the children reported that they sometimes care for their younger brothers and sisters while their parents are away. When caring for siblings was related to expectations, it was found that the less frequently a child takes care of them, the more likely it is that he will expect to stay in school. Seventy-seven per cent of children who take care of siblings less than three days a week expect to stay in compared with only 61% of those who do so three or more days a week. (Table VII-11).

TABLE VII-11

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THEY TAKE CARE OF SIBLINGS

Student Expects to:	How Often Student Cares for Siblings 1 or 2 days/week		3 Days/Week to Every-day, or Occasionally Frequently, etc.	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	77	(24)	61	(46)
Quit and Start to Work	23	(7)	39	(29)
TOTAL	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=75)

The findings in this section thus indicate that there may be some relation between the expectation of remaining in school and the minimization of work and responsibilities in the family, at least among the Negro children. The findings concerning the Puerto Rican children must be accepted with great caution because of the small number interviewed in the present study who do not work or take care of younger siblings.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES

Children's Perception of Parental Attitudes. Migrant children know that within a few years their parents will be faced with the difficult decision of putting them to work as a means of increasing the family income or allowing them to stay in school at considerable financial cost. The children can hardly ignore this situation when forming expectations about their educational future. Table 12 demonstrates emphatically that the children in our sample do not ignore it. (Table VII-12).

TABLE VII-12

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND PERCEIVED PARENTAL FEELINGS ABOUT SCHOOL VS. WORK

Student Expects to:	Negro or White				Puerto Rican			
	Student thinks Parents Want him to:							
	Stay in School		Quit & Go To Work		Stay in School		Quit & Go To Work	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	82	(67)	29	(9)	89	(24)	7	(1)
Quit and Start to Work	18	(15)	71	(22)	11	(3)	93	(14)
TOTAL	100%	(N=82)	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=27)	100%	(N=15)

Four in five children who felt that their parents wanted them to remain in school expected to do so, whereas four in five of those who felt that their parents wanted them to drop out and work expected to do just that. This relation between children's expectations and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes continues to hold when ethnic, sex, and age variables are introduced. (Tables not shown).

It is readily apparent that the children's surmises about the decision their parents will make when faced with choosing work or continued schooling for them is the touchstone to their expectations. Their experiences in school, as well as their own attitudes and preferences are overwhelmed by this one overarching consideration.

Perceived Attitudes of Mother vs. Father. It is traditionally held that the father is not an influential figure in the lower class Negro family. It would appear, however, that among the migrant families in this study the father has an important, albeit contradictory, influence on the educational expectations of the children.

When children were asked which members of the family were most interested in sending them to summer school, only 9% named the father or some other male. (Table VII-13).

TABLE VII-13

ADULTS PERCEIVED BY STUDENTS TO BE MOST INTERESTED IN SENDING THEM TO SUMMER SCHOOL

Adult Most Interested In Sending Child to Summer School	%	N
Both Parents	40	(66)
Mother	39	(65)
Grandmother, Sisters or OtherFemale	12	(19)
Father and Other Male	9	(15)
TOTAL	100%	(N=165)

Forty per cent claimed that their mother and father were equally interested. The remainder chose a female relative, mostly (39%) the mother. These figures offer dramatic evidence of the very great extent to which children perceive support for their education as coming from females in the family, especially their mothers.

Yet, if children think the father does support their education (as measured by being interested in having them attend summer school) they are much more likely to expect to continue in school than if they think support comes only from females in the family. (Table VII-14).

TABLE VII-14

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ADULTS PERCEIVED TO BE MOST INTERESTED IN SENDING CHILDREN TO SUMMER SCHOOL

Student Expects to:	Parent Perceived to be Most Interested in Sending Children to Summer School							
	Father or Other Male		Both Parents		Mother		Grandmother, Sister or Other Female	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	80	(12)	73	(48)	57	(37)	47	(9)
Quit and Go To Work	20	(3)	27	(18)	43	(28)	53	(10)
TOTAL	100%	(N=15)	100%	(N=66)	100%	(N=65)	100%	(N=19)

These findings clearly suggest that children see their fathers playing a pivotal role in decisions about their educational future. This situation almost certainly arises from the fact that where and when a father is present in the migrant family he has principal responsibility for the economic welfare of the family. His influence on the decision to send children to school or put them to work is, therefore, very great.

In summary, the child's perception of his parents' attitudes toward his school attendance has a marked impact upon his expectations of continued schooling. While it appears to be important that both parents take an interest in a child's school attendance, the situation most conducive to an expectation to stay in school would seem to be one in which the father takes an even stronger interest than does the mother.

Actual Attitudes of Parents. So far this section has centered upon the relation of the children's expectations to their perceptions of their parents' attitudes. It is of considerable importance to discover, however, whether the same relation exists between the children's expectations and the actual attitudes of their parents.

First, it should be noted that the mothers interviewed are aware of the economic value of education. Ninety-three per cent said they felt that it is "really important" for a person to graduate from high school if he is to get a good job and 84% felt that their failure to get more education than they did had made a great difference in their lives. (Table VII-15 and Table Vii-16).

TABLE VII-15

MOTHERS' OPINIONS OF IMPORTANCE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION FOR GETTING A GOOD JOB

Mothers, Think High School Graduation:	%	Number
Important for a Good Job	93	(92)
Not Important for a Good Job	7	(7)
TOTAL	100%	(N=99)

TABLE VII-16

MOTHERS' OPINIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF THEIR LACK OF EDUCATION IN THEIR LIVES

Mothers' Lack of Education:	%	N
Has Made a Difference in Their Lives	84	(83)
Has Not Made a Difference in Their Lives	13	(13)
No Answer	3	(3)
TOTAL	100%	(N=99)

These figures would seem to indicate that these mothers are very much interested in education and aware of its importance for occupational placement. A closer look at parental attitudes toward education will be taken in the following chapter, however, with somewhat different results.

Nevertheless, there is a positive relationship between children's expectations and mothers' beliefs that a high school is important to get a good job. The relationship is not as marked, however, as that between the children's expectations and their perception of their parents' attitudes. Sixty-five percent of the parents who recognize the importance of education have children who expect to stay in school while only 50% of the parents who do not feel it to be as important do. (Table VII-17).

TABLE VII-17

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS BY MOTHER'S OPINION REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION FOR GETTING A GOOD JOB

Students Expect to:	How Important Mother Thinks High School Graduation is for Getting a Good Job			
	Important		Not Important	
	%	N	%	
Stay in School	65	(81)	50	(4)
Quit and Start to Work	35	(44)	50	(4)
TOTAL	100%	(N-125)	100%	(N-8)

The relationship is stronger among Negroes than among Puerto Ricans. (TableVII-18).

TABLE VII-18

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND MOTHER'S OPINION REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION FOR GETTING A GOOD JOB

Student Expects to:	Negro or White				Puerto Rican			
	How Important Mother Thinks High School is for Getting Good Job							
	Important		Not Important		Important		Not Important	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	69	(61)	50	(3)	56	(20)	50	(1)
Quit and Start to Work	31	(28)	50	(3)	44	(16)	50	(1)
TOTAL	100%	(N-89)	100%	(N-6)	100%	(N-36)	100%	(N=2)

It would thus appear that in some cases parental attitudes toward education are not perceived correctly by the children; and that--fortunately, in this instance--some parents' attitudes have less of an effect upon their children's expectations than do their children's perceptions of them.

While many spoke of the importance of education, few said anything at all about education beyond the high school level. Furthermore, 39% of the mothers said they thought that a person could get by on less than twelve years of formal education (Table not shown). They rarely look beyond high school to college. There is a generally positive, though somewhat erratic, relationship--between children's expectations and the amount of education mothers think is necessary to get by (Table VII-19).

TABLE VII-19

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY MOTHERS' OPINIONS REGARDING THE AMOUNT OF SCHOOLING NECESSARY TO GET BY

Student Expects to:	Mother Thinks Amount of Schooling Necessary to Get By			
	0-8th Grade	9-11th Grade	12th Grade	Some College or Finish College
Stay in School	65 (15)	52 (16)	73 (53)	33 (1)
Quit and Start to Work	35 (8)	48 (15)	27 (20)	67 (2)
TOTAL	100% (N=23)	100% (N=31)	100% (N=73)	100% (N=3)

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

Characteristics of Parents. It might be thought that the children's scholastic expectations may bear some relation to such factors as stability of their mothers' marital relationships, their parents' age and education and their fathers' non-farm work experience. Family stability, age and education of parents are often described as having an important effect on the educational history of their children. Non-farm work experience by the migrant father can be taken to indicate an occupational flexibility which should make the economic pressure to take children out of school less pressing than otherwise. The relationship of each of these parental characteristics to expectations about continued education will be considered separately.

The data indicate that there is some positive correlation between marital stability as measured by whether the mother is presently living with her legal or her common -law husband and her children's scholastic expectations. Sixty-four per cent of mothers whose husbands are present have children who expect to remain in school compared with 54% of those who are not living with their spouses. (Table VII-20).

TABLE VII-20

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY WHETHER MOTHER & HUSBAND RESIDE TOGETHER IN NEW JERSEY

Student Expects to:	Husband is With Mother in New Jersey			
	Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	64	(58)	54	(19)
Quit and Start to Work	36	(32)	46	(16)
TOTAL	100%	(N=90)	100%	(N=35)

Introduction of the variables of ethnicity and sex seems to include that not all children are affected in the same way by the presence or absence of such marital stability. There is only a slight relationship between stability and expecting to stay in school among Negro children but a very marked one indeed among Puerto Ricans. (Table VII-21).

TABLE VII-21

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY
ETHNICITY AND WHETHER MOTHER AND HUSBAND RESIDE TOGETHER IN NEW JERSEY

Student Expects to:	Negro or White				Puerto Rican			
	Husband is With Mother in New Jersey							
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	67	(38)	60	(18)	61	(20)	20	(1)
Quit and Start to Work	33	(19)	40	(12)	39	(13)	80	(4)
TOTAL	100%	(N=57)	100%	(N=30)	100%	(N=33)	100%	(N=5)

The number of Puerto Rican children without fathers in the home is so small that these relationships must be interpreted with great caution. Still one may hypothesize that the absence of such stability has a greater disorganizing effect among the latter than among the former, where it is more common and accepted.

Introduction of the variable of sex produces curious results that are harder to explain. Sixty per cent of the boys whose parents are presently living together expect to remain in school compared with 50% of those whose parents are not--a positive correlation of the type that is to be expected. (Table VII-22).

TABLE VII-22

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY SEX AND WHETHER MOTHER AND HUSBAND RESIDE TOGETHER IN NEW JERSEY

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Husband Is With Mother in New Jersey							
Student Expects to:	YES		NO		YES		NO	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	60	(25)	50	(11)	67	(33)	80	(16)
Quit and Start to Work	40	(17)	50	(11)	33	(16)	20	(4)
TOTAL	100%	(N=42)	100%	(N-22)	100%	(N=49)	100%	(N-20)

The relationship between stability and expectations is reversed among the girls. Sixty-seven per cent of the girls whose parents are living together expect to stay in school, compared with 80% of those whose parents are not. In short, roughly similar percentages of boys and girls of "stable" parents expect to remain in school whereas instability between their parents tends to lower the likelihood that boys will expect to stay in, but to raise the likelihood that girls will. Although these findings are based on a small number of cases these relationships clearly suggest the need for further research in this area.

Children's expectations also seem to be related to some extent to the age of their parents.. Although the relationship is not a strong one, the data indicate that the older the parents, the less likely it is that the child will expect to remain in school. Seventy-nine per cent of the children with parents in the 20-30 age bracket expect to stay in, compared with 73% of those whose parents are between 30 and 40, and 70% of those whose parents are over 40. (Table VII-23).

TABLE VII-23

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY AGE OF PARENTS

Student Expects to:	Age of Parent 20-30 yrs.		31-40 yrs.		41 yrs. or over	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	79	(11)	73	(36)	70	(16)
Quit and Start to Work	21	(3)	27	(13)	30	(7)
TOTAL	100%	(N=14)	100%	(N-49)	100%	(N=23)

When the veriable of ethnicity is introduced, this relationship becomes more marked in the case of the Negroes, but confused in the case of the Puerto Ricans. (Table VII-24).

TABLE VII-24

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND BY AGE OF MOTHER

Students Expect to:	Age of Mother 20-30 yrs.		31-40 yrs.		41 yrs. or over	
	Negro or White					
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	82	(9)	78	(28)	68	(13)
Quit and Start to Work	18	(2)	22	(8)	32	(6)
TOTAL	100%	(N-11)	100%	(N=36)	100%	(N-19)
	Puerto Rican					
Stay in School	67	(2)	62	(8)	75	(3)
Quit and Start to Work	33	(1)	38	(5)	25	(1)
TOTAL	100%	(N= 3)	100%	(N=13)	100%	(N=4)

Contrary to what might be expected, the data reveal no consistent relationship between children's expectations and the amount of schooling of their mothers. (Table VII-25).

TABLE VII-25

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

Student Expects to:	Mother's Education					
	0-3rd Grade		4-8th Grade		9-12th Grade	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	62	(21)	67	(50)	58	(14)
Quit and Start to Work	38	(13)	33	(25)	42	(10)
TOTAL	100%	(N=34)	100%	(N=75)	100%	(N=24)

The question also was investigated whether there is any relationship between children's expectations and their fathers doing or having done work other than migrant farm work. A little more than half of the children's fathers either were doing or had done some other kind of work. (Table not shown.) When the expectations of children of fathers who have done some other kind of work are compared with those of children whose fathers have not, very little difference is discovered betweennon-farm work and the expectation of remaining in school. (Table VII-26).

TABLE VII-26

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY WHETHER OR NOT FATHER HAS NON-FARM OCCUPATION.

Student Expects to:	Father Has Done Non-Farm Work	
	Yes	No
	%	
Stay in School	61 (31)	56 (41)
Quit and Start to Work	39 (20)	44 (14)
TOTAL	100% (N=51)	100% (N=55)

The introduction of the variable of ethnicity, however, had very interesting results. A strong relationship between their father's having a non-farm occupation and children's expectations of staying in school is discovered among the Puerto Ricans, whereas among the Negroes a strong relationship between expectations of staying in school and the absence of non-farm work is found. (Table VII-27).

TABLE VII-27

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY ETHNICITY AND WHETHER OR NOT FATHER HAS NON-FARM OCCUPATION

Student Expects to:	Father Has Done Non-Farm Work					
	Yes		Yes, Still Does		No	
	Negro or White					
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	57	(16)	62	(8)	90	(27)
Quit and Start to Work	43	(12)	38	(5)	10	(3)
TOTAL	100%	(N=28)	100%	(N=13)	100%	(N=30)
	Puerto Rican					
Stay in School	86	(6)	33	(1)	56	(14)
Quit and Start to Work	14	(1)	67	(2)	44	(11)
TOTAL	100%	(N= 7	100%	(N=3)	100%	(N=25)

Here is clearly another area in which further research needs to be done.

Finally, before turning to financial considerations, it should be noted that the data reveal no clear and consistent relationship between the number of children in the family and the educational expectations of students. (Table VII-28).

TABLE VII-28

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

Student Expects to:	Number of Children in Family							
	1-3		4-5		6-7		8 or more	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	65	(17)	56	(18)	73	(22)	64	(27)
Quit and Start to Work	35	(9)	44	(14)	27	(8)	36	(15)
TOTAL	100%	(N=26)	100%	(N=32)	100%	(N=30)	100%	(N=42)

The characteristics of parents we have examined (as well as number of children) do not show a strong relationship to expectations of continued schooling for all students. Apparently, it is not so much the social characteristics of parents, but children's perception of what parents want that affects their expectations about continuing in school.

Financial Considerations. As might be expected, the financial situation of a child's family has a considerable effect upon whether he expects to stay in school or drop out in order to work. In this connection it should be recalled from previous discussion that adult migrant workers earn on an average about $1,000 a year. This fact should give some indication of the importance of the financial contribution of children, and of the inability of the parents to continue to support them while they finish high school--particularly in families in which the mother is the only adult wage earner.*

---

*Chapter X. The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education

One indication of the importance of financial considerations upon scholastic expectations is that 72% of the children who reported that they expected to drop out of school said they expected to do so because their families will need the money. (TableVII-29).

TABLE VII-29

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY WHETHER OR NOT STUDENTS THINK THEY MIGHT HAVE TO LEAVE SCHOOL BECAUSE THEIR FAMILY WILL NEED MONEY

Student Thinks He Might Have to Work Because Family Needs Money	Student Expects to: Stay in School		Quit and Start to Work	
	%	N	%	
Yes	46	(32)	72	(28)
No	54	(37)	28	(11)
TOTAL	100%	(N=69)	100%	(N=39)

Even more impressive is the fact that 46% of the children who reported that they expected to stay in school said they might have to drop out because of family financial need. This figure suggests the tenuousness with which students who said that they anticipated remaining in school hold this expectation. When confronted with the possibility of financial need, only 22% of the 168 children interviewed said they expected to remain in school. A sizable proportion of the remaining children said they were unsure about what they would do.

The children's parents are also aware of the importance of financial considerations in shaping their children's expectations. Their most frequent response to a question asking why children do not finish high school was that parents could not afford to support them until they finished. (Table VII-30).

TABLE VII-30

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY MOTHER'S REASONS FOR STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF THE SCHOOLS

Student Expects to:	Reasons Mothers Give for Children Not Finishing High School							
	Parents Don't See Use in High School		Child Loses Interest		Parents Can't Afford H.S.		Families Move and Other	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	81	(17)	74	(31)	60	(50)	43	(3)
Quit and Start to Work	19	(4)	26	(11)	40	(34)	57	(4)
TOTAL	100%	(N=21)	100%	(N=42)	100%	(N=84)	100%	(N=7)

This reason is more closely associated with the children's expectation to drop out than reasons reflecting lack of interest in school by parents and children.

When the responses of Negro and Puerto Rican parents to this question were compared, however, a difference in emphasis was discovered. While both mentioned financial difficulties more frequently than any other reason, Puerto Rican mothers rarely mentioned any other reason, whereas 33% of the Negro mothers cited loss of interest on the part of the child, and 18% said that parents don't see the use of school. The comparable percentages for the Puerto Ricans were 11% and 0%. (Table not shown). Controlling on ethnic background, however, had little effect on the relationships between type of reason mothers gave for children dropping out and children's expectations about staying in school.

Further evidence of the influence of the family financial situation upon children's scholastic expectations is to be found in the fact that there seems to be a relationship between expectations and family earnings. Data on actual family income are not available, but 73% of the children who reported that parents generally earned more than $30 a week said they expect to remain in school compared with only 47% of those who said parents generally earn less than $30 a week. (Table VII-31).

TABLE VII-31

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL
PERCEIVED WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MOST FAMILIES

Student Expects to:	Perceived Weekly Earnings of Most Families					
	$30 or Less		$31 - $75		$75 or More	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	47	(23)	73	(49)	73	(24)
Quit and Start to Work	53	(26)	27	(18)	27	(9)
TOTAL	100%	(N=49)	100%	(N=67)	100%	(N=33)

The importance of financial considerations in shaping scholastic expectations is clear. The migrant child's expectations reflect his awareness of his family's money problems. They constitute a major obstacle to his finishing high school, both in his eyes and in fact. This finding serves as a reminder, that however much motivation to finish high school may be increased, the percentage of migrant children expecting to finish and actually finishing will not appreciably change until a way around this obstacle is found.

MIGRATION

One of the main factors differentiating the children in this study from other underprivileged children is their migratory life. While slum children may grow up never having gone more than a few blocks from home, many migrant children travel thousands of miles and live in a number of states each year. No other group of children in the United States moves so frequently and under such conditions. It is therefore important to discover whether migration has any affect upon their scholastic expectations.

Years in Migration. Migration is not a new experience to most of the children. Two-thirds of their mothers report they have been following the crops for more than five years, and nearly half have been following them for more than ten years. (Table not shown). Curiously, there is little relationship between children's expecting to stay in school and their family's having been in the migrant stream for a relatively long period of time. Forty-five per cent of the mothers who have been migrants for one or two years have children who expect to stay in school, compared with 67% of those who have been migrants for five years or more. (Table VII-32).

TABLE VII-32

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY NUMBER OF YEARS MOTHER HAS FOLLOWED THE CROPS

Student Expects to:	Number of Years Mother Has Followed theCrops			
	1 or 2 yrs.	3 or 4 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	10+ yrs.
Stay in School	45 (9)	71 (17)	67 (20)	67 (39)
Quit and Start to Work	55 (11)	29 (17)	33 (10)	33 (19)
TOTAL	100% (N=20)	100% (N=24)	100% (N=30)	100% (N=58)

This is contrary to the relationship that might have been expected. One might hypothesize that in recent years the migrant stream has been drawing from social strata of recent immigrant status, and that this circumstance is reflected in the expectations of the children. Support for this hypothesis is to be found in the fact that a smaller percentage of the children of Puerto Ricans--many of whom have only recently entered the stream--expect to stay in school than do Negro children. (CF Table 1)

Migrants may be divided according to whether they do or do not return to the same farm(s) every year; it might be thought that if they do the result might be a stability of migrant life which would have a positive effect on the scholastic expectations of the children involved. According to the data for the migrants in this sample, however, this stability has no real effect along these lines. Fifty-nine per cent of the families in the present study usually return to the same farm(s) each year, while 41% do not; 65% of the former have children who expect to remain in school after the age of 16, and 62% of the latter do also. (Table VII-33).

TABLE VII-33

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL
BY WHETHER OR NOT FAMILY RETURNS TO SAME FARM(S) EACH YEAR

Student Expects to:	Family Returns to Same Farm(s) Each Year	
	Yes	No
Stay in School	65 (53)	62 (26)
Quit and Start to Work	35 (29)	38 (16)
TOTAL	100% (N=82)	100% (N=42)

Attitude Toward Migration. Attitudes toward conditions have an impact on feelings and behavior that is distinct from, and perhaps even greater than, that of the conditions themselves. Thus it is not surprising that a relationship should exist between the children's expectations and their attitude toward migration that is different from the relationship between their expectations and the number of years they have been migrants. The data indicate that a child who likes the travelling associated with migrant life is a little more likely to expect to drop out of school than is a child who is less favorably inclined toward it. The difference, however, is very small (40% compared with 33%). (TableVII-34).

TABLE VII-34

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL BY THE STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD MIGRATION

Student Expects to:	Students' Attitudes Toward Migration			
	Likes Moving		Doesn't Like Moving	
	%	N	%	N
Stay in School	60	(50)	67	(53)
Quit and Start to Work	40	(33)	33	(25)
TOTAL	100%	(N=83)	100%	(N=78)

With reference to specific things the children disliked about migrant life, the children expecting to stay in school placed relatively more emphasis upon the physical hardships involved in migration than did those expecting to drop out.(Table not shown).

In summary, it appears that the number of years in migration and attitude toward it have little effect on children's expectations about staying in school.

EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING ADULT LIFE

In addition to being asked about educational expectations, children were asked how much money they thought they would make as an adult and what kind of job they wanted when they grew up. Children exhibited a general tendency toward optimism or pessimism in all of these areas.

Anticipated Income. Children who expected to remain in school were likely to expect to earn more as adults than children who expected to drop out. Sixty-six percent of the former thought they would earn $50 a week or more compared with only 39% of the latter. (Table VII-35).

TABLE VII-35

EXPECTED EARNINGS AS AN ADULT BY STUDENTS EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL

Expected Earnings	Student Expects to: Stay in School		Quit and Start to Work	
	%	N	%	N
$49 or Less	34	(23)	61	(27)
$50 - $99	34	(23)	34	(15)
$100 & Over	32	(21)	5	(2)
TOTAL	100%	(N=67)	100%	(N=44)

This relationship between scholastic and financial expectations was even more pronounced at the upper end of the expected income scale. Only 5% of those expecting to drop out of school anticipated earning more than $100 a week, whereas 32% of those expecting to stay in did.

An important aspect of these data is the low level of the monitary expectations of these children. Half of them said they expected to earn less than $50 per week as adults, or less than $2600 per year. Evidence of their awareness that this is below average in American society is to be found in the fact that 61% of the children interviewed said they expected to earn less than other people as adults. (Table not shown).

Occupational Aspirations. The relationship between scholastic expectations and occupational aspirations is similar to the relationship between scholastic and income expectations. Students who expect to stay in school aspire to white collar jobs much more frequently than do those who expect to drop out. Thirty-two per cent of the former mentioned white collar jobs as the kind of jobs they would like to get after they finish school, compared with only 7% of the latter. (Table VII-36).

TABLE VII-36

OCCUPATIONS STUDENTS WANT TO ENTER BY EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL

Student Wants an Occupation that is:	Student Expects to: Stay in School		Quit and Work		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Professional, Clerical, or Sales	32	(30)	7	(4)	23	(34)
Service (not domestic), Skilled or Semi-Skilled	17	(16)	25	(14)	20	(30)
Unskilled	17	(16)	16	(9)	17	(25)
Farmer or Farm Laborer	28	(26)	48	(27)	35	(53)
Other	6	(6)	4	(2)	5	(8)
TOTAL	100%	(N=94)	100%	(N=56)	100%	(N=150)

As these figures indicate, however, that these children's occupational aspirations--like their income expectations--are quite low. The large majority do not anticipate an adult life radically different from that of their parents, even if they do not anticipate being migrant farm workers. Occupying a low position on the socioeconomic ladder is not conducive to high aspirations or expectations.

The children's low occupational aspirations appear to reflect a remarkably realistic awareness of the kind of jobs for which they will be able to qualify rather than reflecting their real occupational preferences. When the children were asked what they would like to be if they could be anything they wished, the number mentioning white collar jobs nearly tripled, increasing from 23% to 59% of the total. (Table VII-37).

TABLE VII-37

OCCUPATIONS STUDENTS WOULD MOST LIKE TO ENTER BY EXPECTATIONS OF CONTINUING IN SCHOOL

Student Would Most Like to Enter an Occupation That is:	Student Expects to: Stay in School		Quit and Work		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Professional, Clerical and Sales	70	(61)	39	(20)	59	(81)
Service (not domestic) Skilled or Semi-Skilled	20	(17)	41	(21)	28	(38)
Unskilled	3	(3)	6	(3)	4	(6)
Farmer or Farm Laborer	7	(6)	14	(7)	9	(13)
TOTAL	100%	(N=87)	100%	(N=51)	100%	(N=138)

The percentage increase was greater among those expecting to drop out (from 7% to 39%) than among those expecting to stay in (from 32% to 70%). The percentage of the latter mentioning white collar jobs was still much greater than the percentage of the former, most of whose increase came from among those who had said in reply to the earlier question that they wanted to do farm work.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Among the various factors investigated in this study, the two factors most strongly related to the scholastic expectations of the children interviewed were the children's perception of parental (and more particularly, paternal) interest in their school attendance, and the family financial situation. If a child feels that his parents are not interested in his attending school, or if his family faces considerable financial difficulties, it would appear that the chances that he will expect to remain in school are slight.

The effects of working to help the family and migration on scholastic expectations are not clear from the data gathered in this study. Although the relationships are generally weak, it appears that the former seems to have an opposite effect upon Negro and Puerto Rican children. The latter's effect would seem to be the opposite of what one would expect. Further research will be necessary before the impact of these factors upon children's scholastic expectations is clear. This must also be the conclusion with reference to the effects on children's expectations about school stability in the relationship between mother and father and the non-farm work experience of the father. The former seemed to have an opposite impact upon the expectations of boys and girls and a stronger association among Puerto Ricans than among Negroes. The latter seemed to have an opposite effect on the educational expectations of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

On thing that emerges from this analysis is the realism of migrant children. The children appear to realize that they are likely not to attain to an educational level sufficient to enable them to improve much upon the occupational and financial situation of their parents.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TEACHER VIEWS THE MIGRANT CHILD

Introduction

The views concerning migrant children held by their teachers are of two-fold interest. They are of interest because teachers who have worked with such children on a day-to-day basis over a sustained period of time are uniquely qualified to report on their educational condition, weaknesses, and needs; and they are also of interest because the views and attitudes of the teachers are of crucial importance in determining whether any educational program, including the New Jersey summer school program, will be as successful as time, resources, and the condition of the children will admit.

The first of these contentions is beyond dispute; and while this chapter is concerned with migrant children rather than the role of the teacher of migrant children, a word should be said with regard to the second contention -- not in the way of a defense, since it should require none, but in the way of elaboration. If a teacher is to be effective with underprivileged children, an understanding of their background and situation is essential. The teacher must be sensitive to the weaknesses and needs of such children as opposed to other children, and must be sympathetic and responsive to them if rapport is to be established, communication is to be possible, and educational progress is to be made. He must also take a real interest, not only in teaching children, but in teaching children with severe educational problems and deficiencies. He must not allow these problems and deficiencies to prevent him from taking an essentially positive view of the children he is working with, and of their potentialities for educational advancement, however great the obstacles to their realization. [1] He must of course, satisfy the other, more standard criteria of a good teacher, and if these are not satisfied as well, he is likely to accomplish little with his underprivileged pupils.

As the responses to interview questions presented in this chapter indicate, it would appear that most teachers in the New Jersey summer schools for migrant children satisfy these special criteria reasonably well. The majority of teachers interviewed* had a liberal and positive attitude toward almost every aspect of the migrant child -- his needs, his environment, his home life, and his behavior. The reasons the teachers gave for the migrants' low socio-economic level, and their children's cultural and educational retardation were environmentalist ones. For example, nearly all the teachers felt that migrants became migrants because of economic difficulties and lack of education rather than because of lack of intelligence or ambition. Migrants, they said, had found themselves unable to earn a living in the South, and therefore had resorted to following the crops. Only one felt there might be some correlation between migrancy and a low level of intelligence as well as a lack of ambition.

Teachers Contact with Parents

Of all the teachers interviewed, only one reported much contact with parents of their migrant pupils. Only one reported any contact at all with the children outside of school. Nearly all reported no contact with either parents or children outside of school or school-related business (such as registration.)

---

* The interviewees in this chapter consisted of eleven teachers from summer schools at Woodstown, Fairton, and Cranbury, New Jersey.

Practically all of the parents and teachers interviewed felt that parent-teacher contact was important. Parents and teachers gave similar reasons for meeting with one another. They were: to help the teacher understand the child's background, and to help the parents understand the school. (Few teachers thought parents might be able to help their children with school work by virtue of such contact.)

There is, however, very little parent-teacher contact. The parents seldom come to the schools, and when they do, it is primarily for medical reasons. One schools holds an Open House for the parents, on Invitation Day, but very few parents come, for most have to work during the day. One-third of the teachers reported that parents had visited them from one to six times; the majority however, reported no visits at all.

Teachers visited parents in the camps hardly more often. Several reported having made visits once or twice, and one said she made visits once or twice a week; three-fourths, however, did not visit the camps at all, other than at the time of registration.

The teacher's revealed more traditional ways of thinking about migrants when asked: "Do migrants like migratory life?" than they did to questions about reasons for migration. Here some of the more traditional ways of thinking about migrants were revealed; some reples to the question were: "They're happy, they're used to living poorly"; "Some like to wander. . ."; "They don't mind because they haven't been exposed to anything else,"; and "I think they are just resigned to it."

Migrant Children and Community Children

Many of the teachers were pleasantly surprised by the eagerness of the migrant children to learn, and by their good behavior. In listing migrant children's common personality characteristics, shyness, lack of education, good behavior, desire to learn, and strong family ties were frequently mentioned. On the other hand, difficulty in getting along with one another, uncleanliness, bad eating habits, sensitivity, and insecurity were also mentioned, even if less frequently. In particular, teachers noted that migrant children are shy and have difficulty making friends.

In talking of the differences between migrant and community children the teachers showed a positive attitude toward the former. Educational, motivational, and behavioral differences, the areas in which ideas of "inferiority" are most likely to come out, were mentioned in a manner that was sympathetic to the migrant child. The migrant child was said to be better behaved and more obedient than the average child. The teachers felt the motivation and eagerness to learn of the children they worked with was greater than that of the average child, since they were in school "because they want to be." The academic inferiority of migrant children compared with local children was mentioned by only one-third of the teachers. Social and hygenic differences were also mentioned, although not frequently. A variety of answers were received when the teachers were asked to select the most important differences between migrant and average local children; some mentioned greater feelings of insecurity in new situations, and experiential deprivation (books, music, parks, supermarkets, etc.), on the part of the migrant children. Others felt the migrant way of life constituted the biggest difference; and still others stressed the migrants' academic retardation, poor social habits, and a great desire to learn.

Parents' Attitudes Toward School

Even though most of the teachers had no contact with the parents outside of school-related activities, they nevertheless all answered the question concerning the attitude of the migrant parents toward school. The common opinion among the teachers was that virtually all parents wanted their younger children in summer school, and that the only reason they did not send the older children was that it was economically impossible. They saw no indication that parents were simply not interested in summer school. Only one said she felt that children were sent to school because "then the Mother does not have to worry about them". The teachers were asked specifically if they felt that the migrant parents regarded school as a baby-sitting service or as an educational opportunity, and most said they felt it was regarded by parents as an educational opportunity. Some teachers felt that this fact did not exclude the possibility that the parents regard it as a day-care center as well.

The teachers were also asked what proportion of the parents they felt were anxious for their children to go to school. A majority answered that they felt most parents were. It is worth noting the reply of one of the minority, however, who said she felt less than half the parents were interested in sending their children to school:

> With the Negro migrant parent no more than 50% desire their children to go to school. They know the language, have more opportunity, but I don't think they use their opportunity as well. With the Puerto Rican, he has the language barrier, is far away from home, he has more troubles than the Negro; but I would say 75 to 80% want their children to attend school..

The teachers also gave an opinion on the differences between the mother's and father's attitudes toward their children's education, though, once again, their opinions must be evaluated in the light of the fact that their contact with the parents in almost all cases was limited to registration. Most of the teachers felt it was the mother who was more interested. One noted a difference between Negroes and Puerto Ricans: "With the Spanish the mother is so docile. The father has to give consent. With the Negro the mother is interested in education, but the father still has to give consent." It is noteworthy that our data support these rather complex impressions.

Problems of Teaching Migrant Children

The comments of the teachers on the problems of migrant children in regular, as opposed to summer, school provides a good indication of teacher attitudes toward the children. One teacher said, "The migrant child is slower to learn." Other comments were: "Migrant children need more remedial help, more vicarious experiences," and, "Poor attendance is a problem, worse with Negro than Puerto Rican." When asked whether migrant children should go to school with other migrants alone, or with local children as well, there was a wide range of answers. "Only with other migrants," said the teacher who thought migrants slower learners. Others replied, "separate first, but eventually, together;" "separate English speaking from non-English speaking (Puerto Ricans);" and "all stay together." Clearly there was no consensus of opinion on this question.

The teachers were fairly evenly divided in their replies when asked whether teaching migrant children posed any special problems; a third answered yes, another third no, and the other third took middle ground, answering no, but qualifying their answers. When the teachers who said there were special problems were asked what the problems were, typical replies were: "great individual differences within the class. Wide range of achievement levels." "The program is difficult to maintain because children don't stay the full six weeks." Only one teacher said that learning difficulties were more prevalent among boys than girls. The problems cited as most important were: manners, health and personal cleanliness, the language problem, the disruptive effect of migrancy upon education and friendships, sportsmanship (boys), and consuming interest in boys (girls). The least important problem in all the schools seems to have been that of discipline. Only a few teachers said discipline was sometimes a problem; most, however, found the migrants more respectful than other children.

The Summer School Program

A wide range was found in the attitudes of the teachers concerning what they consider to be the most important part of the summer school program. Only a few said that the educational program and academics were the most important. Several others mentioned the importance of getting children interested in coming to school to learn. Most, however, said that helping the children learn to make social adjustments was the most important part of the program. The teachers who thought social adjustment more important than academic work said: "This (social adjustment) is important since you may not do too much academically." "Time is limited for teaching." When asked what they would like to see stressed most in the summer schools, however, few said social development alone; the majority indicated they would like to see social development and academic work stressed equally.

When teachers were asked what subjects should be stressed more or less than in the past summer, they were nearly unanimous in suggesting that language skills receive greater emphasis; none felt they should receive less. One teacher said, "deficiency in language holds them back in all other areas." Another remarked that to improve language skills would be to improve understanding and speech as well.

Many teachers also felt that arithmetic should be stressed more. Some of the teachers' comments in this regard were: "Arithmetic should help children learn to handle money," and "Children need review on basic facts, numbers." One teacher said, "With these older children abilities in arithmetic are retarded, but they have the ability to grasp the process. But when you work with problems you get back to the reading difficulty. The language skills are the most important skills of all."

The teachers emphasized the development of scholastic skills for instrumental reasons. This is consistent with their emphasis on social adjustment. The teachers held that these skills facilitate the proper integration of the migrant into the community, and his economic betterment as well.

While the majority of the teachers felt that social development is the most important part of the summer school program, few of them thought it should be stressed more than in previous summers. As was mentioned above, most felt that social development and academic subjects should be stressed equally and since the emphasis of the program already tends toward the former, most teachers felt it could not realistically be expected to receive greater emphasis in the limited time available.

The migrant child's great ignorance of the society in which he lives and the world around him would lead one to think that the teachers would see a need for greater stress on social studies. However, this was not the case. Only one teacher recommended it, the others suggesting that social studies receive the same emphasis as in previous summers. Half of the teachers did see a need for a greater number of field trips to help compensate for the migrants' unfamiliarity with such a great number of common objects and activities.

Teachers almost never suggested that a part of the school program be stressed less than it had been the previous summer. If their replies are to be of any practical significance, therefore, they may serve to establish a priority list. Migrant children have many needs, and teachers have little time to work with them. Ideally everything would be stressed more; but since available times does not increase, one subject can be stressed more only at the expense of another, which can scarcely afford to be stressed less. According to the teachers, however, it is important to stress language and arithmetic more; if this is done, therefore, it would appear to have to be at the expense of social adjustment and social studies.

Retardation of Migrant Children

Most of the migrant children have reading levels far below their chronological age level. In most cases they are retarded in all of the basic skills--reading, writing, and arithmetic.

To remedy this situation the teachers would "adapt teaching methods to suit the situation; and do more individual work." "Summer schools should be lengthened to enable teachers to learn pupils weaknesses via readiness tests." Most teachers felt the problem of pupil placement could be alleviated if there were some adequate system of record transfer, but none exists.* Other comments were:

> "Stress basic skills. Gear program to level of ability. Fifteen year olds reading on the 4th level need materials suited to their age."
>
> "Have smaller classes."
>
> "Enrichment program--introduce good literature, opportunities for writing."
>
> "Close cooperation between Florida & New Jersey."

---

* Cf. Chapter XI, "Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility".

Many of the teachers who spoke of their classroom teaching methods said that the educational retardation of the child is not a major problem to them. It is expected and as good teachers they know how to cope with it.

From the teachers' answers it does not appear that at this age level there are any significant differences between the sexes. There was some indication that the boys had more trouble with reading and spelling and the girls with arithmetic; but not to any considerable extent. In matters of discipline, classroom procedure, etc., the teachers saw no great difference between the two.

Lack of familiarity with classroom procedure was not a great problem, and was mentioned only in a few instances. One teacher said it was "necessary to teach the migrant children everything." But others said that they were "perhaps a little less familiar (with classroom procedure) than regular children."

Poor command of English is a persistent problem with migrant children. All teachers commented on the language barrier encountered with Spanish speaking children. Many also pointed out the poor command of English among Negro children; in particular their poor diction. Some teachers found it difficult to understand the southern dialect of the Negro pupils. One said of his Spanish speaking students, "Even the Spanish is poor; it makes for a lack of communication." Another teacher said that the migrant's poor command of English "inhibits the children's learning because they expect to see words printed the way they say them. They're prone not to speak in sentences." Other comments were: "If they were able to express themselves better, they would be better accepted socially." And, in a different vein, "no educable deficiency is a problem. These deficiencies ought to be expected."

Interest, Rapport, and Absenteeism

Lack of interest in school was not found to be a big problem, as noted above, the teachers found many of the migrants to be more enthusiastic than other students. A fourth of the teachers, however, did indicate that it was a problem. One said there was a lack of interest due to an inability to learn and that there was no motivation. Another teacher who felt there was a lack of interest found it more prevalent among boys. Another hypothesized that perhaps the teachers have not found the children's area of interest, or that the children might have emotional problems at home. One teacher commented: "The subject matter should be something the child has need for. There is a lack of interest also because of lack of understanding of subject matter."

Most of the teachers reported no difficulty in establishing rapport with the children, although several said they found some difficulty. The major obstacles to the establishment of rapport met by these teachers were the children's shyness and their lack of confidence in teachers and in themselves. "They have had no contact with other adults outside the family. They don't understand what school is about." "They are not used to social relationships."

Excessive absences were found to be somewhat of a problem at all schools, for various reasons. One teacher said the reasons given to her by the children for absences were mainly that they were working in the fields (older children), or that their mothers didn't have a chance to get them ready. Other reasons for absences commonly given by children to teachers were that they had to baby-sit (girls), and that they got to bed too late and were too tired to come.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the teachers at the migrant summer schools have a positive outlook toward the summer school program and toward the migrant child. Most of them have had little contact with migrant children or their parents outside of school. They do not think he is fundamentally inferior to other children, but look upon him as an essentially sound child who has been educationally and economically deprived. While they recognize some special problems in teaching migrant children, they feel none to be insurmountable. Most of the teachers feel the primary purpose of the summer school program is to teach "social adjustment" rather than academics, although they would like to see them receive equal emphasis, and suggest that language skills and arithmetic should be stressed more than they are at present. These, then, are some of the experiences with, knowledge of, and attitudes toward migrant children that teachers carry with them into the summer schools.

PART III. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORTS OF IGNORANCE

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIAL BARRIERS TO THE CONTINUANCE OF EDUCATION

In evaluating the factors affecting the decision of children of migrant farm workers either to continue in school or to drop out when their attendance is no longer acquired by law, one must not overlook the importance of the influence of their home conditions and of the established patterns of social behavior in the migrant camp. This chapter analyzes the observations of field investigators concerning these conditions and patterns of behavior, and their influence in discouraging the continuance of these children's education beyond the age of 16. An Appendix at the end of the chapter presents excerpts from the observational and interview data that form the basis of this chapter.

Home and Camp Conditions

Children of migrant workers who live a good deal in migrant camps cannot be expected to make normal educational progress and to develop the attitudes toward school and learning which an adequate education presupposes. This is in part because of the presence of certain conditions in the camps and in their homes, which are not a problem for most middle-class children.

1) As is noted elsewhere*, little pressure is exerted upon children by any of the adults in migrant homes to study and to do well in school. While they have some idea of the importance of education, their normal words and actions do not show that they value it highly;

---

* Cf Chapter X, "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

and this is certain to be reflected in the failure of the migrant child to come to value education highly. The values of migrant adults center not around school and education, but around superior speed and skill in harvesting crops and the various leisure activities that are discussed below; and it is these values that are transmitted to migrant children. The parents' low valuation of education is reflected in the fact that nearly a third of 102* migrant children interviewed said their parents have little interest in their schooling, while over a quarter said they showed no interest at all, as the following table shows.

TABLE IX-1

CHILD'S PERCEPTION OF PARENTS' INTEREST IN CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING

Interest Shown	Number	Per Cent
A lot	23	23%
Pretty much	20	20%
Only a little	32	31%
None at all	27	26%
Total	102	100%

2) There is an almost complete lack of printed materials in migrant homes. This is related to the migrant parents' low valuation of education. Literacy and literature do not occupy a high position in the value systems of most migrants; and therefore a low valuation of education may be expected to be accompanied by a low valuation of

---

*That is, of 102 migrant children who answered the question.

of printed materials, for the values they embody are very similar. Our field studies found that, with few exceptions (such as an occasional paper-back mystery), the only book in evidence is the Bible. Other than comic books, which are widely read by adults as well as children, few magazines are to be found; an occasional movie magaizine was seen, but little else. The few newspapers that were seen were of the tabloid variety. Thus migrant children grow up in an atmosphere in which there is a nearly total absence of printed material. When printed material is not readily available to encourage reading, the development of facility in reading is slowed; and when parents place so little value upon anything written, one must expect that school will come to have a correspondingly low valuation in the minds of their children.

3) Potentially, television could have a positive influence upon migrant children by breaking into their cultural isolation and confronting them with values -- including a valuation of education -- quite different than their own. These values are rendered attractive by being associated with a considerably more affluent style of living than their own. Actually, however, it may be doubted if it has any positive influence, for most of the programs they watch are well within the boundaries of the well-known "wasteland"; the ability of Westerns, war stories, horror movies and baseball games to elevate the valuation of education is certainly subject to doubt. In addition, the presence of television, particularly in a small dwelling when someone is watching it, is hardly conducive to reading of any sort, should a child have a desire to.

One should not conclude that the financial plight of the migrants places television beyond their reach; on the contrary, all migrant children -- and their parents as well -- watch television a good deal, if not in their own homes, then in homes of friends, and if not in New Jersey, at least at their winter bases. As Table IX-2 shows, the families of a surprisingly large proportion of migrant children interviewed have television sets in Florida. Even if the children who said they "didn't know" did not have them and simply did not want to say so, two-thirds of their families have sets. If only children who gave definite answers are considered, four in five families have sets. This is a proportion not far below that for the nation as a whole.

TABLE IX-2

NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH TELEVISION SETS IN FLORIDA

Reply	Number	Percent
Yes	51	66% (80% of Yes/No's)
No	13	17% (20% of Yes/No's)
Don't Know	13	17%
Total	77	100%

4) If a migrant child should have an impulse to read anything, whether related to school or not, he would also be subject to a variety of other distracting influences, owing to the very crowded nature of the migrant camp and of migrant housing. With respect to the latter, most families in migrant camps are confined to a few small rooms,

Since migrant families tend to be large, the result is frequently severe over-crowding. The families in this study ranged in size from two to 15 members; the median family size was six. While in New Jersey they live in shacks containing one or two rooms; a very few -- mainly crew leaders and their families -- have three rooms. This means that in migrant summer homes there is an average of three to four people per room. That this situation is not substantially better in their winter homes in Florida, is revealed by Table IX-3.

TABLE IX-3

NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS X NUMBER OF ROOMS IN FLORIDA

			No. of Rooms			
No. of Persons in Family	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six (or more)
1						
2	-					
3		-	1	1		1
4	2		-		2	
5	1	4	2	2 --		1
6		3	3	3	4 --	
7		2	2	2	1	
8		2	2	4	2	-- 1
9	1	1		2	2	
10		2	1	2		
11			1	2		2
12			1			1
13			1		1	1
14						1
15		1				
	(4)	(15)	(14)	(18)	(12)	(8)

If one considers that the criterion of over-crowdedness is generally taken to be any situation in which the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms by more than one, as the dashes in the table indicate, most migrant families are over-crowded in their Florida winter homes as well as in their New Jersey summer homes. Furthermore, the lighting is poor and the walls are thin in most Florida homes and in all New Jersey migrant quarters. The result is that the migrant child has no quiet, well-lit place in the migrant camp to which he can to to get away from others and read; to seek out such a place would require a determination and a desire to read that few children can be expected to have.

5) A further distraction is provided by the crowded conditions in the migrant camp as a whole. While the camp is located out in the country, the housing units are situated very closely together, with the result that large number of families live very close together. Since there are many children in migrant families, there is always a large number at play near the house of every migrant child; he only has to go outside to find others to play with, and rarely can find a place where he cannot hear others playing. Migrant children play with a zest and enthusiasm which is at least comparable to that of other children, and they enjoy themselves immensely at play. A child who could with any frequency resist these temptations in order to read would be rare indeed.

Thus life in the migrant camp provides few supports for educational interests and little encouragement of effort and achievement in the area of education. Furthermore, there are a number of factors in migrant camp life which act as barriers to educational achievement, and discourage such interests and efforts. The world of the camp could hardly be further from the world of the school. An adolescent's decision to stay in or drop out of school after turning 16 is determined in large part by his attitude toward it; and if he has grown up in migrant camps under these home and camp conditions, he is not likely to have a high idea of its importance.

Early Assumption of Adult Roles

1) Perhaps the most important way in which migrant camp life discourages the continuance of education is in encouraging an early assumption of adult roles. In middle-class society there are three fundamental levels of development beyond infancy: childhood, youth, and adulthood. Education is part of the preparation for adulthood; and the periods assigned for education are childhood and youth. Our educational system is geared accordingly; and it has become a prerequisite of social and economic advancement as an adult that a person complete a secondary education prior to the assumption of adult roles.

This is made possible by the postponement of the assumption of adult roles for a number of years beyond childhood; a person in middle-class society is thus able not only to complete primary school as a child, but also secondary school, before he is expected to assume these roles. The period of youth during which he attends secondary school has come to have a set of roles and behavior patterns associated with it that are distinct both from those of childhood and adulthood.

In effect a quid pro quo has been established: during this period the youth is freed from the responsibilities of adulthood, and in return does not lay claim to the perquisites of adulthood and attempt to assume adult social roles. An elaborate youth culture has emerged to fill the void thus created between the values and activities of childhood and adulthood. Most importantly, however, the existence of a period of youth between childhood and adulthood and its supporting youth culture encourages the completion of secondary school.

2) The magnitude of the problem of securing the completion of secondary school by migrant children may best be seen in this light; for there is virtually no period of youth and little youth culture among migrants. Migrant children of course are in their teens for as many years as other children; but in terms of roles, they tend to move directly from childhood into adulthood. While there may be a brief transitional period in their early teens, it is not a distinctly separate period of some duration with values, roles and activities of its own, as is youth in middle-class society. It is neither long enough, nor does it occur at the proper point, to encompass the years necessary for the completion of secondary school. Migrant children thus assume adult roles very early, at the time in which middle-class children are just assuming youth roles. Both regard attending high school as a pre-adult activity; but while middle-class children regard it as a youth activity, migrant children regard school attendance as therefore being a childhood activity.

Migrants thus do not complete secondary school at least in part because of the absence in migrant society of a distinct period of youth and a youth culture presupposing secondary school attendance; and, it should be added, a period of youth and a youth culture is lacking in migrant society at least in part because its economic base is lacking. Its economic base is obviously an affluence sufficient to enable families to live relatively comfortably without haveing to draw upon the earning potential of adolescents; for working adolescents are excluded from the youth culture of those in school attendance. Furthermore, parents must be able to provide sufficiently for their children to the extent that their teen-aged children are not led to renounce youth culure, at least to the point of leaving school, and to attempt to realize their earning potential and assume adult roles.

3) Poverty, in short, when it leads to the involvement of adolescents in the labor force, cannot support a youth culture. In a social group which lives in porverty, particularly if it exists in relative isolation from the influences of middle-class society, the period of transition between childhood and adulthood is of necessity shortened as much as possible, to a brief period. Where a youth culture exists, adolescents are both consumers (requiring at a minimum an adult's portion of food, clothings, and funds for social activities), and economically unproductive; they are supported by the family, but do not contribute materially to it. This is not possible in a situation of poverty in which the family can be sustained only if all who consume contribute as much as possible, preferably at least in proportion to the amount of their consumption or support.

Migrants live in extreme poverty, with annual earnings as low as those of any group in the country; in fact, many migrant parents have made the decision to become migrants in order that their children can contribute to their upkeep, for many can not make enought by themselves to support their families*. Further, the members of Southern Negro and Puerto Rican rural society, including most New Jersey migrants, have been poor for generations; and this has precluded the possibility of a youth culture having arisen among them in the past. Thus it is not surprising that there is no youth culture established in migrant society, and that most migrant children assume adult responsibilities long before they complete high school.

It may be objected that a very distinct youth culture is to be found in most urban slums, and that this argues against the contention that poverty cannot develop and support a youth culture. To this it may be replied, firstly, that slum youth culture did not develop there, but is borrowed and adapted from middle-class youth culture; and that it is partially sustained by its close proximity to various aspects of middle-class youth culture. Secondly, the inhabitants of slums do not in all cases live in poverty. They may live in squalor, but as the clothes, cars, and activities of many slum youth indicate, many slum dwellers are able to live at a considerable distance from real poverty without drawing upon the earning potential of adolescent family members. And finally, in most cases jobs are simply not available to them, even when they or their parents wish to draw upon their earning potential. They are therefore in a sense thrown back into the slum youth culture because, unlike the case of migrant adolescents, the job situation in their area will not permit them to join the adult work force. Thus

* Cf Chapter I, "The People Who Follow the Crops".

the existence of a youth culture in urban slums constitutes no objection to the preceeding considerations.

Introduction to Adult Responsibilities

Migrant children are introduced to adult responsibilities as children; it is not strange, therefore, that they claim adult perquisites and assume adult social roles as soon as they are able. This is a quid pro quo which is just the opposite of that prevelant in the case of middle-class youth; and migrant teen-agers are generally able to make good on their claim and to assume adult social roles, because there is not authority structure in the migrant family or community of sufficient strength to prevent them.

1) There are four major adult roles in migrant society; they center around work in the fields, child care, sex, and drinking and gambling. The first two fall into the category of adult responsibilities, while the latter two are adult social or leisure activities -- compensations for being an adult and having to take these responsibilities. From a very early age, however, migrant children are expected to help with the responsibilities. Half of the parents interviewed -- including half of the parents of five to ten year-olds -- felt that their children should earn their keep* and most others feel that they should earn at least part of it. The children therefore frequently work in the fields with their parents, almost from the time they start school. By the time they reach their teens, most can work as fast as their parents, and therefore are capable of earning as much. They frequently play a very major role in helping support their families.**

---

* Cf Chapter III,"The Migrant Family"
** Cf Chapter X, "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education"

They are also given the responsibility of caring for their younger brothers and sisters at an age when middle-class children still require baby-sitters. Five and six year-old children have been observed attending several younger children for considerable periods of time. They do so frequently, in order that their older brothers and sisters and mothers can work in the fields. Thus migrant children must accept adult responsibilites, not only when they reach their teens, but long before.

2) It should not be supposed, however, that they are resentful of this. First, they have been raised to accept them from a very early age, and have been brought up to feel that they should contribute to the family well-being. Secondly, migrant society is both isolated and homogeneous, and therefore migrant children are generally in no position to make comparisons between what is demanded of them and what is demanded of other children their age in other social groups. The homogeneity of migrant society reinforces the attitude that this is what children should do; and its isolation allows the view to go unchallenged. And finally, a positive value is attached to the assumption of any adult role in the eyes of a migrant child, even though it may not be an intrinsically enjoyable one, because of its association with adult status; for adult status is very highly valued in migrant society -- more so even than in middle-class society, perhaps because its only competitor is child status, whereas in middle-class society adult status has a highly attractive competitor in youth status. Thus migrant children usually do not object to having to bear adult responsibilities.

As they reach their early teens, however, and their ability to perform these responsibilities approaches more and more closely to that of their parents (unlike that of middle-class children), they quite naturally come to desire adult privileges and pleasures, and independence of their parents. They consider themselves to be adult in important respects, and this is understandable in light of the disappearance of any differentiation between their performance of adult responsibilities and that of their parents. When this differentiation disappears, one of the strongest barriers to their assumption of adult social roles disappears as well. The adolescents become their parents' economic peers. In migrant society this goes far toward making them "adult".

3) The absence of youth culture role models undoubtedly plays an important part in inhibiting the development of a youth culture in the migrant community. When children begin passing out of childhood, the role models they see in their reference groups -- and the ones which they therefore imitate -- are adult ones. Thus they are not diverted from adult roles, as are middle-class children, but rather are drawn directly to them upon emerging from childhood.

This process is accelerated in the instance of sexual roles by the absence of any strong social prohibitions against pre-marital sexual activity in migrant society as in rural Southern Negro society generally. The random way in which migrant families and crews come together in camps and the shortness of the length of time for which they remain together in a camp is also conducive to a casualness in sexual behavior.

Absence of Strong Authority Structure

1) This is one example of the absence of any strong authority structure.in migrant society capable of withholding adult perquisites

from migrant adolescents and preventing them from assuming adult social roles. In societies in which a strong authority structure exists, whether centered in the family or in the community or society as a whole, it is quite possible even for adults to become major economic contributors without acquiring full rights of participation in the adult social activities of the community. For example, Arensberg and Kimball [1] have shown among Irish peasants this disparity between economic and social roles often persists into middle age. It is therefore certainly possible for adolescents in such a society to assume adult work roles while being prevented from assuming adult social roles; a modern example of such a society is the Amish Community in the U.S. [2]

In migrant society, however, no such authority structure exists. It is difficult for such a structure to evolve on a community level when communities are as constantly in flux as migrant communities are. Even in the Southern communities which are the migrants' home bases, the only strong community organization is the church; and while the church protests against casualness of sexual behavior, it has never mounted a protest vigorous enough to challenge the patterns of sexual behavior which is part of the Southern Negro community's heritage from the slave period.*

2) It is the same heritage which is at the root of the absence of any strong authority structure in many migrant families. As long as a strong, concerned father or father-figure is not present and active in the supervision of the behavior of adolescents, it may be doubted whether it is possible to prevent them from assuming adult social roles.

---

* Cf Chapter III, "The Migrant Family".

in migrant families there is often no father, and not infrequently no father-figure. Where there is one, he is often not a strong family figures; and where he is strong, he is often not concerned and active in the supervision of the behavior of children and adolescents. The mother is usually both a strong family figure and concerned and active, but she generally becomes ineffective in controlling the behavior of her children as they get too big for her to handle. Force is used to secure obedience in migrant households; and when the children become big enough to render the use of force difficult, it is frequently no longer possible to secure obedience.

Thus while a great many factors draw the migrant adolescent toward the assumption of adult social roles, there are no effective barriers to his assumption of them. He has no motive to want to postpone assuming them, such as is provided the middle-class child by the existence of a youth culture; and no authority structure exists to prevent him from assuming them, such as exists in both the home and community for the middle-class child. Therefore while the middle-class child is assuming youth roles -- and completing high school -- the migrant child is assuming a full compliment of adult roles -- and leaving school to enter the work force.

Assumption of Adult Social Roles

The point at which adult sexual roles are assumed is critical for education, for it is generally soon followed by the abandonment of education; girls drop out to have children, and boys to enter the work force on a full time basis. Furthermore, the point at which sex and the opposite sex become of consuming interest is also critical for education, for at that point interest in education -- such as there may have been -- generally flags and fades. It thus becomes of considerable importance to understand the development of sexual interest and behavior among migrant children, and the role it plays in their lives and value system. The following discussion, like the proceeding, is based upon the observations of field investigators.

1) Migrant children grow up in an atmosphere in which sex is very much in evidence and of great importance. It is spoken of in their presence, and they are able to observe many sexual practices at first hand; this is due in part to the crowding of migrant communities and dwellings, and in part to a considerable openness concerning many facets of sexual behavior among migrants. Furthermore, children from two or three to 11 or 12 years old play in one large group; and thus the knowledge and attitudes of the older children -- acquired from yet older ones and during years of sexual awareness -- soon become the knowledge and attitudes of the very youngest children. The result is that by the time migrant children enter school they have a very great sexual awareness and consciousness.

The dances, songs, vocabulary, and converaation of migrant children are heavily sexual. For example, in one dance the partners resemble two dogs engaged sexually (it is called, logically, "The Dog"); and in one song the sex act is described. Their vocabulary contains many slang sexual terms -- indeed, even the youngest children have an astonishing mastery of profanity -- and sex is one of the most common topics of conversation.

2) Girls start having boyfriends by the age of 10 or 11, and most have them by the age of 12. (The boys are generally three or more years older.) By that age, boys are their over-riding concern, and they think of little else; indeed, this was cited as a major problem by summer school teachers.* It is not just in their imaginations that they have boyfriends; they take their relationships quite seriously, and fights between girls of this age over boys are common, as are fights between boys over girls of this age.

By this age most girls are also beginning sexual experimentation with their boyfriends. By the time they are 14 many are "taking walks" with boys and men -- usually their boyfriends -- and they start having babies a year or two later. It is at this point that most of them drop out of school; and at 17 or 18 many of them get married. Thus most of them never get more than halfway through secondary school. The parents of some urge them to drop out of school even earlier, in order to get married before the babies start coming; in most cases, however, the course of events is simply accepted. While there is some disapprobation attached to becoming pregnant at 15 or 16, it is not too severe; there are no strong sexual prohibitions, and the community makes the best of the results of early sexual activity.

3) As in other social groups, migrant boys become interested in girls several years later than the girls become interested in boys; they begin to be interested at about 13, and by the time they are 15, girls -- or more accurately, sex -- is their consuming concern. The youngest boys interested in girls usually strike up relationships with the youngest girls interested in boys, and this situation continues

---

* Cf Chapter VIII, "The Teacher Views the Migrant Child".

to hold, with the result that the boys usually have girl friends a number of years younger than themselves. Rather than having a restraining effect upon their sexual behavior, however, this merely results in a very early sexual initiation for the girls.

The girls are rarely promiscuous, tending to remain relatively faithful to their boyfried of the moment; the boys, however, and the young men as well, proposition most of the girls above 12 or so, and all of the younger women, indluding married women older than themselves. This naturally results in a good deal of fighting, both among the boys and men, and among the girls. Relationships tend to be very intense, both because they are steady, and because they involve sex; because of the constant temptation and opportunity to be unfaithful, there is a great deal of jealousy, and girl-friend-beating, as well as fighting among each sex, is very common.

In short, the sexual element permeating the thoughts and activities of migrant adolescents results in an extremely highly charged atmosphere; their attention is frequently focussed upon members of the opposite sex, to the exclusion of most other concerns.* This is the case from the early teens onward; it is especially intense in the middle teens, at the time when the decision must be made to stay in school or drop out; and it is certainly not conducive to the former.

4) The amount of fighting that goes on among migrants -- children, adolescents, and adults -- is very considerable, in school as well as in the camps; and it cannot be doubted that this is productive of an atmosphere in the school as well as in the camp that is not conducive

---

* However, see Section (5) below.

to learning. Of 102 children interviewed, fifty-one per cent said they fought "a lot" in their winter schools, as Table IX-4 shows.

TABLE IX-4

AMOUNT CHILDREN FIGHT IN WINTER SCHOOLS

Amount	Number	Per Cent
A lot	52	51%
Pretty much	1	1%
A little	23	23%
Not at all	24	23%
N.A.	2	2%
Total	102	100%

It would appear, however, that migrant children learn to seek violent solutions to problems from their teachers as well as from their parents and other migrant adults; and the amount of fighting that takes place in their winter schools may be at least in part a reflection of the fact that many of them report being whipped a good deal by their teachers, as indicated in Table IX-5. Even allowing for exaggeration, the amount of whipping would seem to be considerable.

TABLE IX-5

AMOUNT CHILDREN ARE WHIPPED IN WINTER SCHOOLS

Amount	Number	Per Cent
A lot	55	53%
Pretty much	12	12%
A little	19	19%

TABLE IX-5 (cont.)

Amount	Number	Per Cent
Not at all	13	13%
N.A.	3	3%
Total	102	100%

The children seem to recognize that fighting interferes with the educational progress of both those who fight and those around them; when asked if children who fight learn as much in school as those who do not fight, only ten per cent said "Yes," while seventy-two per cent said "No." And half said that children who fight in school keep others from learning, while only one-third said they do not. Nevertheless, they continue to fight as they become adolescents and adults; they are raised to fight if their interests are threatened, with weapons if that is necessary to overcome an advantage of size. Unschooled in democratic procedures, they know only domination and submission;* and the only sure way they know to achieve and maintain domination is through use of physical force. Parents encourage this behavior, both by their admonitions and by their own actions. Migrant children see no others acting differently after whom to model their behavior, even at school; it can hardly be considered surprising, therefore, that they fight as much as they do.

5) The boys not only enter into adult sexual activity at the age of about 15, but also begin to participate in the other adult migrant

---

* Table IX-4 would seem to indicate that there is a quite clear and even division of the children into those who submit and those who seek to dominate; it would be interesting to discover whether a similar division exists with reference to fighting in the camps.

male leisure activities of drinking and gambling. It should be stressed that these are accepted leisure activities in migrant society, and are not regarded as deviant or exceptional behavior. Adult migrants are excluded from the leisure activities of middle-class adults for a complex of social and economic reasons; and even if they were not, their background would render many such activities (e.g., reading, going to musicals, collecting stamps) unintelligible and unenjoyable to them. Drinking and gambling, in addition to sec, are among the simplest and most accessible of leisure activities, and provide excitement perhaps more quickly and vividly than any others. It is not surprising, therefore, that they constitute the main leisure activities of adult migrant males.

Furthermore, because they are both exciting and identified with adult status, it is not surprising that most migrant boys are participating in them by the time they are 15 or 16. Nor does their participation consist merely of experimentation; interviews reveal that they prefer hard liquor to beer, and drink less because they enjoy the taste than because they enjoy being drunk; and that when they gamble they often win or lose amounts of money that are quite large relative to the amounts they earn. They also frequently become interested in cars, slthough few are able to get them. An interest in sports, too, is also pronounced.

They are able to participate in these activities because it is at this age that they begin working much more, and also begin keeping part of their earnings for themselves, rather than giving it all to their parents. Their concerns are with girls, drinking, gambling, and perhaps cars; and these concerns demand money. They tend to live for the moment, rather than to plan for the future; and their tendency is thus to do that which can give them the money to do what they want: drop out of school and start working. They see no real point in continuing to go to school, and a great deal of point in working full time. They can make as much as their parents working in the fields; and by working in the fields they can become economically independent of their parents, and establish themselves as adults.

In short, by dropping out of school and going to work they are able to achieve adult status, and to assume all of the roles of an adult male migrant. Achieving adult status, when no status positions exist between childhood and adulthood, becomes very important, particularly when those in one's peer group;are achieving it. Completion of high school would mean postponement of adult status for years -- a cost which is much too high, to most migrant boys. The social pressures to drop out are great, and the motivation to stay in school is small, particularly since most migrant boys do poorly in school and do not find school work rewarding. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many drop out when it becomes legally permissable.

Disparity Between Scholastic and Social Ages

The early assumption of adult social roles also has a considerable effect upon the extent to which migrant children are able to profit from the material presented to them in the classroom. In middle-class schools children in their early teens are expected to have mastered a certain body of material, and are presented other material cast in a form appropriate to their level of social development, which is generally not too advanced. In migrant schools, the same materials --

geared to the level of social development of the middle-class children for whom it was designed -- are often used, in the absence of any other. Migrant children, however, are considerably retarded relative to middle-class children;* when they are in their early teens, they are confronted with material which middle-class children mastered several years earlier, and which is thus geared to a very low level of social development. But the level of social development of migrant children in their early teens far surpasses that of the middle-class children of a comparable age; and the result is a great disparity between their social development and that presupposed by their material -- and also often by their teachers.

It would be difficult enough for boys and girls developed socially to the extent of being involved in sexually intimate relationships to concentrate on school matter, however interestingly it was designed and presented. It is virtually impossible, however, for them to take seriously the kind of material with which they are confronted in most schools today. The Weekly Reader can hardly be meaningful to girls who may already be pregnant, and to boys who fight, drink, gamble and live from one sexual episode to the next; yet this is the situation in the case of migrant girls beyond the age of 14, and boys beyond the age of 15.

It is thus necessary to design a body of materials for groups such as migrants who are scholastically retarded but socially precocious, and to present it in a manner that takes into account the level of social development of the student body. This is necessary simply to prepare the ground for an attack upon the more difficult problem posed by the lack of concern of adolescents whose interests are so wrapped up in activities entirely unrelated to school. This is the second barrier to educational progress posed by early assumption of adult social roles: it not only leads to dropping out, but to disinterest in school beforehand. Unfortunately, it may be impossible to eliminate this problem as long as adult social -- and particularly sexual -- roles are assumed long before the completion of high school.

---

* Cf, Ohapter V, "Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part II."

Summary and Conclusion

Migrant children assume adult roles very early in life. The fact that they must assume adult responsibilities -- wage-earning and child-care -- very early in childhood contributes to their assumption of adult social roles and perquisites at first opportunity. Other equally important contributing factors are the fact that a migrant child in his early teens who is skilled in field work can earn as much as an adult, and thus can place himself on equal ground with his parents and migrant adults in general in an important respect at an early age; and the fact that no authority structure of sufficient strength to prevent the adolescent from assuming adult social roles exists in the migrant family or community.

Another important factor is that there is no youth culture in migrant society, and no period of youth interposed between childhood and adulthood. It is lacking at least in part because the economic base of a youth culture, enabling a society to dispense with the earning power of its adolescents, is lacking. In the absence of a youth culture with its set of roles and values distinct from adult roles and values, adolescent migrants are motivated, not to postpone the assumption of adult roles, but to attain adult status as soon as possible. This means that they participate in the adult social activities of sex, drinking, and gambling at as early an age as they can; and it also means caring for the resulting children, in the case of the girls, and working full time to earn money, in the case of the boys. (The girls work too, of course.) These activities -- perquisites and responsibilities -- together define the role of the migrant adult; and most migrant adolescents have assumed this role by the time they are 16 or 17.

But in the process, education is forgotten. It does not fit into the migrants' value system; the boys drop out of school to work, and the girls to have children and work. School is accepted until it gets in the way of more important concerns, or at least more immediate ones. Most migrant adolescents are vaguely aware of the long-term importance of education, and of completing secondary school; few, however, are able to withstand the many forces drawing and pushing them into an early assumption of adult roles.

It would seem that an authority structure sufficiently strong to deny to adolescents adult perquisites, a degree of differentiation between the earning capacities of adults and adolescents, and most importantly a youth culture centered around secondary school postponing the assumption of adult roles at least until its completion (with the minimum degree of affluence which the existence of a youth culture presupposes), are the elements missing in migrant society which are essential to wide-spread completion of secondary school by migrant adolescents; or at least they would seem to be the elements in middle-class society which insure the high rate of completion of secondary school attained by its members. It may be that the same goal can be accomplished among migrants with less drastic modification of migrant life than this would imply are necessary; but it is clear that as long a migrant children continue to assume adult social roles as early as they do at present, it will continue to hamper their educational progess while in school, and to hasten their pre-mature departure from it.

APPENDIX

Field Notes of An Interviewer

This Appendix consists of a number of excerpts from field interview data with or concerning migrant children, recorded by a project interviewer. Better than anything else, they reveal the attitudes and interests of migrant children; while they concern individuals, they are representative of many unrecorded conversations and episodes, and portray aspects of the lives and views of migrant children generally. Conversations were set down from memory soon after they had taken place; and while they may not be entirely faithful to the wording in the original interviews, the interviewer feels confident that they are sufficiently so.

From Interviews (All conversations and observations concern only Negroes)

(Interviewer talking to six year old boy)

Int: Do you like school?

Boy: I like school. They gives you milk.

Int: That's nice.

Boy: And milk make you big and strong, that's what my teacher said.

Int: She's right.

Boy: And when you is big and strong you can get out in the field and pick them beans. Then you can make lots of money and buy lots of things.

Int: Sounds reasonable.

* * * * *

* * *

(Interviewer talking to four girls aged 9, 9, 8, and 7; the three older girls were kidding the younger one because she had never worked in the field.)

Int: Do all of you work in the field?

All: Yes.

1st Girl: She never worked in no field.

2nd Girl: I did!

3rd Girl: No you didn't, don't be tellin' stories, child!

2nd Girl: I did!

1st Girl: You never picked no beans in your life, there!

2nd Girl: I did!

* * *

(Interviewer talking to several 12-year-old boys.)

Boy: You got a wife? (Interviewer was 19.)

Int.: No

B. : You got a girl friend?

I. : Yes

B. : You beat your girl friend?

I. : No

B. : What if you found her kissin' somebody else?

I. : I'd be mad, I guess.

B. : I bet she runnin' around with some boy right now.

I. : I don't think so.

B. : Do you give your girl friend money?

I. : No.

B. : Why not?

I. : She has her own money. Do boys around here give their girl friends money?

B. : Yes. -- How come you don't beat your girl friend?

(They couldn't believe this.)

B. : Do you live with your girl friend?

I. : No

B. : Do you have any children?

I. : No

B.: How come?

I. : I'm not married.

B. : So! I know lotsa people ain't married with children.

I. : Well, I guess I've just never had any.

* * *

(Interviewer talking to same group of 12-year-old boys.)

B. : You drink?

I. : Sometimes.

B. : What you drink?

I. : Beer.

B. : Beer! What you like that for?

I. : It tastes good.

B.: It taste good!? Don't you drink to get drunk?

I.: No.

B.: When do you drink?

I.: At meals.

B.: What for?

I.: Because it tastes good. I like wine too.

(Boys all laugh.)

B.: I know lotsa people like wine. You a wine head (wino)?

I.: No.

B.: Do you drink Tiger Rose (a cheap red wine)?

I.: No

B.: Do you ever drink whiskey?

I.: No

B.: You get drunk?

I.: Not really.

B.: How come?

(They couldn't beleive Int. didn't get drunk, and drink to get drunk.)

B.: I seen people around here take a pint of Southern Comfort and finish off half of it just like that.

I.: Is that so.

B.: Lotsa people like wine. I betcha you like wine mor'n you say. What you mean you don't like to get drunk?

* * *

(Same group.)

B.: Do you gamble?

I.: A little.

B.: That all? What you play?

I.: Cards sometimes.

B.: How much you lose?

I.: A dollar sometimes.

B.: Is that all?

I.: Why, do people lose more than that around here?

B.: They sure do! Do you ever fight over gamblin'?

I.: No.

B.: You don't? (Unbelieving.) Anybody ever try to stick a knife in you?

Int.: No.

One Boy: A boy tried to stick me but I hit him with a bottle and ran away.

I.: Really!

B.: Do your momma and daddy fight?

I.: No

B.: Does your momma beat you?

I.: No.

B.: Does your daddy beat you?

I.: No.

(They wouldn't believe this at first.)

B.: What would you do if somebody came after you with a gun?

I.: I'd call the police.

B.: Why do white people always call the police?

I.: It just seems like the thing to do.

(Boys tell of a recent shooting near the house of one.)

B.: Things like that happen all the time and you wonder why we fight so much. There's so much fightin' and knifin' and shootin' in Florida, everybody got to do it.

I.: I see.

B.: Anyway, colored people like to fight more than white people.

I.: Why is that?

B.: They just that way. They brought up to protect themselves.

I.: What does your mother say to do when somebody is picking on you?

B.: Beat him up.

I.: What if he is bigger than you are?

B.: Pick up a board or somethin' and hit him upside his head.

I.: So you like to fight?

1st Boy: I do.

2nd Boy: Me too.

I. Don't you get scared when you fight someone you don't know you can beat?

B.: Well, yes, but I still like to fight.

3rd Boy: I don't like to fight so much, but nobody can push me around.

(Int. saw evidence of this when Boy got into a fight with a much bigger boy over a very little matter.)

* * *

(Same group)

B.: You ever gone to any other country?

I.: Well, I've been to Canada.

B.: What's it like there.

I.: Oh, pretty much like it is here.

B.: They got stores there?

I.: Yes.

B.: Do people live in houses there?

I.: Yes.

* * *

(Same group)

B.: Are you colored?

I.: No. (Int. is clearly not colored.)

B.: I thought you said you was colored.

I.: I don't think I did.

B.: I always thought you was colored.

I.: Well, I'm not.

B.: You a ghoul (mulatto)?

I.: No.

B.: Are you Puerto Rican?

I.: No.

B.: Is your momma and daddy white?

I.: Yes.

B.: How come you so dark then?

I.: I've got a sun tan.

B.: (a very dark Negro) You as black as me.

I.: Am I?

B.: (another boy) You ain't black, you red.

I.: That's just my new sun tan.

B.: Oh.

* * *

(Conversation between W. and J., two 12-year-old boys.)

W to J: Do your teachers (in winter school) ask you to tell about your house (in Florida)?

J: Naw.

W: When mine do I'm ashamed.

J: Naw, my house ain't no worse than nobody else's.

W: Don't tell stories. I once had to stand up and tell about my house. All those children before me (mainly non-migrants) had nice new houses. Our house ain't no better than that one there. (Points to shack of crew leader.) Yours ain't neither.

J: I know.

W: See all those names. (There are about ten nicknames on the door.) They's all the people that live there. Like rats in a hole.

Int.: Are you bitter about it?

W: What do you mean, "bitter"?

I: (Explained bitter.)

W: 'Course I'm bitter. The colored poeple ain't got no chance. You'd be bitter too.

Observations

Almost every single one of the migrants I know will fight if they are picked on, or if someone is trespassing on what they consider their rights. I saw two fights in which little girls, both eight years old, were picked on by older and much bigger girls. They both went into absolute rages and attacked the bigger girls. In turn, the bigger girls became enraged. The older girls stopped when I yelled at them, but I had to hold the younger ones; as soon as I put them down they would attack again. It took a full ten minutes to calm them down. Both these little girls are cute, friendly, likeable, and relatively well-adjusted children. Their reactions were not exceptional, but, typical of those of most migrant children in such situations.

* * *

The only reading materials much in evidence are the Bible and comic books. In two summers working in migrant camps I've seen only two people reading books, one a paperback western novel and one a paperback mystery story. Comic books are in great demand by people from about 12 to 25; the demand far exceeds the supply, and waiting lines soon form when a new comic is obtained. The girls and women like love story comics the best, while the boys and men like westerns; however, things like Donald Duck and Uncle Scrooge are also popular. Girls and women also like movie magazines.

* * *

All of the girls I knew who were 12 or older had boy friends with whom they were intimate to varying degrees. None admitted it of themselves, but I always asked them in a group, and when they denied it their girl friends would accuse them, naming particular occasions when they had discovered them. In one conversation, L and K were teasing P (All were 13 years old) because they said her boy friend, who was 16, had told them that P didn't even know how to kiss when he first started going with her at the beginning of the summer. Then K said that "P sure knows how to do everything now!" During all this P tried to look ashamed and mad, but she was obviously enjoying it.

* * *

The children 12 and under who don't work in the fields seem to enjoy themselves thoroughly. They all play together, usually without fighting. The younger children seem to be able to chase each other, run, and scream for hours on end, and are always happy and able to amuse themselves. The children over 12 very rarely join in with them in this simple play, and it is often hard to find them. If one looks for them, one will find them talking in doorways, sitting in cars, or getting ready to go into town; but they are always in the background. If one walked quickly through the camps in the evening, one would think everyone there was either between one and 12 or between 25 and 60.

The children in one camp were influenced by a fanatical preacher who claimed that the earth will soon come to an end, that swarms of locusts will attack them, that the trees and bushes will come alive, and that their noses will fall off of their faces. Most believe in ghosts.

* * *

Not one of the children I havé talked to in two summers in the different camps had ever heard of France, Italy, or Germany. Most have heard of England and Russia, but few know of any other countries. None were aware of the current integration demonstrations and campaigns against segregation; in fact, none had ever heard the word "integration" and "segregation".

* * *

Many 12-year-old girls spoke of having been propositioned numerous times, not only by other Negroes and Puerto Ricans, but also by whites, and in particular the sons of damp owners and farmers near the camp. They said they never went with them. In response to the question concerning the age at which girls atarted "taking walks" with men when asked, they said at 14 or 15, although sometimes at 13. They said that many girls began kissing and petting at 10 or 11, and did so frequently by the time they were 12 or 13.

* * *

Two Episodes

Four girls between nine and 13 told the interviewer of a fight the nine-year-old had been in the day before. A girl of 13 had pulled her baby sister's hair for some reason. She attacked the older girl, but was being beaten. She then picked up a clothes iron and hit the older girl with it. She said, "I missed her head, damn black nigger, but I hit her on the shoulder." (She is also a Negro.)

She then said that the older girl knocked her down and picked up a rock. S, the nine-year-old, managed to get up and run. The older girl threw the rock but missed, and then ran into her house, coming out with a knife. S ran to the other end of the camp, with the older girl in pursuit. It was during the afternoon, and all of the adults were at work. S ran into a small woods about a hundred yards in back of the camp. She said, "Man, I was shakin' like a leaf. I wasn't scared when we was fightin', but when she came after me with that knife . . . man oh man!"

The older girl didn't follow her into the woods, and she said she stayed there until she remembered her baby sister. "Then I got me the biggest stick I could find and ran back to the camp." When she got back to her house she found her friends in the house protecting her sister. It was not clear why the older girl didn't attack S again, but she did tell her that "I'll bust your head open if I ever catch you alone."

The interviewer asked S if she had told her mother and father, and she said that she had. Her mother had complained to the other girl's mother, but the woman had only yelled at her daughter " a little bit, for takin' the knife out of the house." S did say that the girl's mother had promised not to let her break S's head open. S concluded, "I still shake when I think of that knife." Once again, S was nine years old.

* * *

One afternoon the interviewer was talking with some children near several migrant shacks. A commotion was heard in one, which lasted for some time. After a bit, G, a girl who was 12 but who looked 16, came running out with her blouse off, and a man of about 20 running after her. G asked the interviewer to tell him to leave her alone; from her bearing and what had been heard from within the shack, however, it was clear that she didn't want him to leave her alone, and was only teasing him. The man came up to her and grabbed her arm and told the interviewer that she was a tease.

At this point one of the brothers who ran the farm drove up and asked the interviewer who he was. The interviewer told him, and he said, "It's okay as long as you aren't a reporter getting statements from the kids." He then drove off. The young man then asked G if she would come back inside with him, and she said she would when she felt like it. He then walked away.

The interviewer asked G if that was her boy friend, knowing that her regular boy friend, who is 15, lived in another part of the camp. She said No, and asked that the interviewer not tell him about the incident, " 'cause he's the jealous type". Throughout she appeared quite in control of the situation, and clearly was not being taken advantage of because her parents were not home, but was egging the fellow on. G, once again, was 12 years old.

FOOTNOTES

1. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community In Ireland, Cambrige, Harvard University Press, 1940.

2. John A. Hostetler, Amish Society, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1963.

CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC BARRIERS TO THE CONTINUANCE OF EDUCATION

> I don't see why they try to stop me from workin' my children. I couldn't get by without them helpin' me. I don't see what they tryin' to do. Sister Hawkins down there, she and her family make $100 a week every week. If her children didn't work she be makin' $30 to $40 a week. Now how you live on that? I'm gonna visit the school board and tell 'em the facts. My biggest girl make almost as much as me. How could I make my $60 a week if she didn't work? Man, I know a boy 13 years old that can pick more beans 'n me. He pick 15 baskets one day. I never did but 13 once.

These are the words of a Negro mother in a southern New Jersey migrant camp, with reference to efforts to keep two of her children (aged eight and eleven) and other migrant children from working in the fields. The attitude she expresses, and which she shares with most migrant parents, conflicts with the educational aspirations most migrant parents express for their children. The fact that few migrant children complete secondary school becomes quite understandable, when viewed in the light of such considerations as that pressed so strongly by this mother.

Most migrant parents realize the importance of a secondary school education, and would like their children to complete it; and most migrant children at least initially would like to remain in school beyond the age of 16, when attendance is no longer required by law. In the preceding chapter* the social forces in migrant society discouraging the continuance of education and drawing adolescents into the farm labor work force are discussed. This chapter deals with the financial, attitudnal, economic and political conditions which have the same influence. A considerable problem is created for the entire society when a large group

* Cf. Chapter IX, "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education."

of children enter the work force before they have been educated sufficiently to be able to assume occupational roles beyond the lowest levels of unskilled labor. They are condemned to a life of frequent unemployment, job insecurity, low wages, and general hardship, and in the process prepare the way for their children to follow them. It therefore becomes very important to understand the conditions which have this effect.

PART I

Family Financial Pressures and Attitudes

Ability of Adolescents to do Field Work

One of the considerations offered by the migrant mother cited above is the fact that older children and adolescents have the ability to match, or at least to approach, the economic productivity of adults in farm wage work. Children and adolescents will not be able to enter the work force unless the work involved is of a type that they can do, and their economic productivity will not approach that of adults unless the work involved is such that they can do it nearly as well as adults. The kind of crop tending and harvesting that constitutes the work of migrant farm laborers in New Jersey, as well as in most of the rest of the nation, is of this order. It demands workers who are dexterous, flexible, and who have a great deal of stamina, since it involves spending from dawn to dusk in the hot sun. On the other hand, physical strength is not a primary requisite, although it may often be helpful. Furthermore, neither technical training nor a developed critical judgement are necessary, and education is quite inessential. Adolescents meet all necessary requirements, even better than many adults; hence there is nothing in the nature of the work to prevent them from entering the work force.

When a group of migrant mothers were asked at what age they felt their children could work at a level comparable to that of adults, nearly all of them without hestiation indicated the early adolescent years. The median age given as the one at which both boys and girls can "make about as much as an adult" was 14. They were also asked at what age it became "worthwhile" to have children start working in the fields; a number of mothers said it was worthwhile from the time they were six or seven, while only one said it was not worthwhile until they were about 12. Since it thus appears that children are able to do field work at least from the time they are eight or nine, and that they can do it as well as adults by the time they are 13 or 14, the question of whether they are actually to enter the farm labor work force prior to their completion of secondary school clearly becomes entirely a matter of the relative strength of the pressures for and against their doing so. As was suggested, the former at present prevail.

Financial Situation of Migrant Families

One of the more surprising statements made by the mother cited at the beginning of this chapter is that her family income is $60 a week, and that the weekly income of the other family she mentions is $100. While these incomes are not large, neither are they excessively low. On the other hand, the individual incomes from which these family incomes are compiled are low, as she also indicated, claiming that without the earnings of children, one adult could only earn $30 or $40 per week in a farm wage work. This claim is substantiated by a 1959 survey of the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which found that the average daily earnings of migrant farm workers who worked 25 days or more during the year in farm wage labor ranged from approximately $5.00 to approximately $7.00, depending upon the area of the country.[2] A 1953 study by Metzler[9] reported similar average daily . It should be noted that these averages apply only to days worked and do not include days unemployed.*

When New Jersey migrants were asked how much they made in an ordinary day at the crop they were then working, the median reply given was $6; the median figure for husbands was $7,** only a few women said that either they or their husbands averaged more than $9.00 a day. The accuracy of their estimates was confirmed by crew leaders, New Jersey Government officials, and local farmers. Adults seldom earn as little as three or four dollars for a full day's work, unless they find themselves in "poor fields"; on these occasions, however, their earnings may be this low.

Since adolescents can make nearly as much as adults, these figures indicate that a family of two adults and one adolescent, or of one adult and two adolescents, can hope to make $100 a week during the crop season. It is difficult, however, to translate this into an estimate of the average yearly family income of migrant workers. The number of family members contributing to the family income not only varies considerably from family to family, but from season to season in each family, since during the school year children under 16 cannot work full time. Furthermore, there are long periods of unemployment for migrants during the off-season. While some are able to find part-time jobs in non-farm occupations during this period, others are not. It thus becomes very difficult to estimate average annual incomes.

Metzler's study in 1953[9] well illustrates these difficulties, while at the same time dealing with them as satisfactorily as could be expected. His figures for both individual and household incomes of migrant workers in the East Coast stream are for the year 1952; however, since the conditions of migrant labor have changed relatively little in the past dozen years, his findings are still of interest. His figure for the average yearly income of males over 16 was approximately $1000, and his figure for females over 16 was near $800. He calculated that children under 16 may make anywhere from very little to over $700.

---

* Cf. Chapter I, "The People Who Follow the Crops".

**Cf. Appendix C

When he translated these figures into average migrant family income, he concluded that the income of the average family in 1952 was in the neighborhood of $1700. Only eleven per cent of the families he studied earned $3000 or more, while sixty-five per cent earned less than $2000, and twenty-six per cent earned less than $1000. He does not mention the numbers of wage-earners involved, but it would appear that there was only one major wage-earner in each of the families in the last-mentioned group. This shows among other things that there are a substantial number of such families. According to his individual income figures, a household in which there were two working adults and one working adolescent would have a total income of well over $2000; therefore the fact that two-thirds of the families he studied had incomes of less than $2000 indicates that there are not this number of older workers in many migrant families.

Results of attempts to obtain income data from New Jersey migrants were less than satisfactory. Estimates of weekly incomes based upon reported average daily earnings turned out to be from fifteen to twenty-five dollars less than reported weekly earnings. Many families reported weekly total incomes during peak season of over $100, and one family with four boys between the ages of nine and sixteen said that there were weeks in which the income totaled over $200.

However, this is during peak season; estimates for the whole season-earnings from which constitute a large portion of the annual incomes of many migrant families--in most cases ranged below $1000, and were often as low as $300 or $400. Many discrepancies appeared, however, which cast doubt upon the reliability of these estimates. For example, the woman saying her family sometimes made over $200 in a week also estimated their season earnings to total only $600. On the basis of the similarity of the reported average daily earnings figures with those of Metzler, therefore, one must assume that the annual earnings of the migrants in this study are similar to those of the migrants he studied. When two parents cannot together earn as much as $2000, and when it is recalled that fathers are lacking in a substantial number of migrant families,* the importance of the financial contributions of children and adolescents becomes quite clear.

Difficulties also emerge in attempting to estimate how far an average annual family income of approximately $1700 will go among migrants. There are some expenses which they do not have to worry about. In many migrant camps (although not at winter bases), housing--such as it is--is free. Workers are often permitted by farmers to supplement their food supply from the crops they pick, although this only provides them with a few food items at most, which usually are not basic staples (e.g., peppers, cranberries). Little is spent on clothing;** however, more undoubtedly would be, if it were there to spend. Migrant families are able to receive the most basic medical services through public agencies, and a health program exists in the summer schools for the children.

Food is the largest budget item; the one other large expense that many, although certainly not all migrant families have, is automobile

* Cf. Chapter III,"The Migrant Family"

** . There is a free distribution of clothing for children attending migrant summer schools each summer.

upkeep. Since the automobiles they have are usually older models, their upkeep tends to be rather high. Cars are important to migrants, not only because they must travel a great deal in the course of the year, but also because migrant camps are almost always located at some distance from towns. Thus this expense is in many cases a necessary one.

In light of the fact that food and automobile upkeep represent the only major expenditure of most migrant families while in the North, and in the light of the further fact that the only additional expense they incur during the winter in the South--for housing--is frequently not too great, (the median weekly rent for the 18 families who were interviewed with the "work questionnaire" was $10.). It would appear that in spite of their extremely low annual incomes, they are able to expend at least some part of it at their discretion. If this is the case, it may be that a substantial number of migrant families possess economic resources which apparently have been largely untapped in long-term efforts to improve their economic position.

The most promising of such efforts would appear to be the effort to secure the completion of secondary school by migrant children. If this is to be possible, their families will have to get along without much of their substantial financial contribution. But this is the crux of the problem: it would appear that only those families in which adolescents contribute substantially to the family"s tot al income have financial resources which exceed the basic minimum needed to live. If the children's contributions were dispensed with while they continued to require support, the mother or parents could not secure this minimum income. Thus the financial contributions of adolescents are not as dispensible as the existence of a certain amount of discretionary income might seem to indicate.

Family Size and the Decision to Enter Migrant Stream

There is some evidence that adolescents are to be found in the farm wage labor force, not simply because they were born into migrant families and migrant parents cannot make enough to support whole families, but because parents who were not earning enough at other jobs to support their families entered the migrant stream precisely in order for their adolescent children to bring in income. The parents may be able to earn no more than previously; but family income may be increased during the period in which there are older children to support if the parents enter a line of work in which there are older children to support if the parents enter a line of work in which they can find employment for their children as well as themselves.*

If this point is sound, it has unfortunate implications concerning the education of the children involved; for their chances of completing secondary school are slim indeed if their families enter the migrant stream precisely because in it children can become economically productive at a very early age. Immediate financial needs are thus met, but barriers are also erected to any future social and economic advancement on the part of the children.

Evidence of the soundness of this point is to be found in a Bulletin of the U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service[2], which reported that in 1959 one-fifth of all male and female workers engaged in agricultural employment were between fourteen and seventeen years of age. This fraction would be even larger if the substantial number of children under fourteen in agriculture were included. Further evidence is to be found in the size of the migrant families in the present study; the median number of family members is six, with some families of as many as

Cf. Chapter I, "The People Who Follow the Crops" fifteen members. As was seen in the chapter on Migrant Family Structure, Chapter III, women interviewed with no man residing permanently with them had an average of seven children, many of whom were still under sixteen. It would seem clear that many of these families are in the migrant stream because an opportunity is there afforded for adolescents to contribute to the support of the family.

Most importantly, however, the statements of the parents themselves indicate that this is the case. Mothers were asked whether the fact that their children would be able to work had influenced their decision to enter the migrant stream, and the great majority answered that it had.** This is a typical comment:

> We comes up on the seasons so's the children can work. Don't make no sense comin' all the way up here if it just you. You know, we got to buy 'em clothes for school and all like that. The childrens helps us out and we can send 'em to school in the winter.

While most migrant children attend school until they are 16 as the law in most states requires, the fact that they have been fully productive members of the agricultural work force during a substantial part of the year for a number of years prior to reaching this age is certainly a factor contributing to their decision to leave school at that point, as is the reluctance of the parents of most of them to continue to contribute to their support after school attendance is no longer required by law. At this age the adolescents become less willing to contribute their earnings to the family, and wish to keep them for themselves; but when they begin to do this, the family is no longer able to support them while they continue in school.

---

*Cf. Chapter IX, "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

** It is interesting that the same association between the opportunities for family employment and migration existed over forty years ago, when the migrants consisted largely of recent immigrants from Europe and poor whites from the South. The following passage is from an article by Sara A. Brown, written in 1923:

> The major reason families migrate to the open country is work: work with its contribution to the family income; work without restriction for all members of the household, young and small, old and large. Unhesitatingly, father say they would not go without the children to do the work: 'In the city jes' me and and woman works, chillins' go to school; in the country chillins' go to work too, more money, go to school jes' after work.' Mothers after many years as migrants frequently say, 'Me no more come to fields mit the kids when they is big enough to work inthe city.' The work children may do in factories and mills is regulated by school and child labor laws, not so for children of migrant workers.[4]

Attitudes of Parents: The Legitimization of Work Roles

Thirty-seven per cent of the 99 migrant mothers interviewed with the "parents schedule" said they felt that a tenth-grade education was sufficient for a person to "get by" satisfactorily in our society today. This foreshortened perspective concerning the importance of education, deriving in part from the fact that they themselves have had relatively little education, provides migrant parents with a frame of reference that renders legitimate in their eyes the premature movement of their adolescent children out of school and into occupational roles. Their children's attitudes are more than likely to reflect their own, which therefore become of considerable importance. Below are some sample replies of those who felt a secondary school education is not essential, to the question of why they felt it was not:

> "I didn't get no higher than the sixth (grade), and I can get by."
>
> "Children should go as far as I went, the tenth grade. Some finish and know less than I do."
>
> "In the seventh (grade) you learn just as much arithmetic as in the tenth and that's what you need to get by."

A mother who had completed the tenth grade said that children needed to go to school "Just enough to do some reading and writing--and know to count and do arithmetic." The lack of understanding of many migrant parents of the intimate relationship between education and occupational placement was symbolized most clearly in the sharp reply of one energetic but nearly illiterate woman, who said, "You don't have to have no high school or college education if you have the mother wits about you to understand about the jobs." While many other parents have a better, if vague, understanding of the occupational importance of education, these attitudes are all too common. Even among those perceiving its importance, virtually none look beyond high school to the importance for substantial social and economic advancement of a college education, perhaps because it seems so far beyond the reach of their children. In the following passage Ginsberg and Bray are talking about Southern agricultural workers generally, but their remarks apply to migrant workers as well as to any others.

> The very large scale technological changes under way in the Southeast. .will result in the region becoming less and less agricultural and more and more industrialized. In 1890 two out of every three persons in the South earned their livelihoods in farming; today this is true of only one in four. We also found. . that the majority of illiterates and those with less than five years of schooling, are very heavily concentrated in agriculture. The problem, therefore, arises of how this handicapped population which is being increasingly forced off the land can find a place for itself, either in the South or in the other regions of the country.
>
> The experience of Southern industry, and, even more particularly, the experience of Northern industry pointed to the fact that there are major barriers in the way of absorbing even a small number of illiterates into an industrial organization that has adjusted itself to a literate work force. . even though the illiterate person could frequently learn to become a machine operator without particular difficulty, industries would hestiate to employ him because he would be unable to meet the ancillary responsibilities of work in a large organization such as filling out blanks, reading work orders, and keeping records.
>
> ...the South...lost approximately 3 million persons to other regions between 1940 & 1947. If this large-scale out-migration from the South continues..it becomes very important for the

> entire country, as well as for the specific individuals, who are in search of a better way of life, whether the migrants possess the minimum qualifications which will ease their adjustment into the economic and social life of the communities into which they migrate.[7]

It is apparent that a sizable proportion of migrant parents do not have attitudes that will direct them to provide their children with an opportunity to obtain these "minimum qualifications", which consist above all of a sound secondary education.

The fact that they lack these attitudes is reflected in the fact that the great majority of them do not take an active interest in their children's school experiences, although this is also a reflection of their ill-preparedness to do so. For example, although ninety-six per cent of the mothers interviewed said they felt it was important for parents to visit teachers in the schools, teachers in New Jersey migrant summer schools reported that virtually no parents made such visits. Most children said that there were equally few parent-teacher contacts during the school year at their winter bases. Further, when children were asked how much their mother or father asked them about school, twenty-six per cent replied that neither of them ever asked, and another thirty-one per cent answered that their parents asked "only a little".

This lack of contact with the school experiences of their children renders it difficult for parents to appraise these activities correctly. For example, when asked if summer schools should stay in session until five instead of three in the afternoon, thirty-nine per cent of the mothers interviewed said that they preferred the earlier closing time. The reasons typically given reveal much about the mothers' image of school activities. Most said that the later closing time would give the children "too much school," and that the children would become overly tired of school activities and that they needed more opportunity to rest and play at the camp. Apparantly, few were aware of the very low-pressure approach used in the summer schools.

Thus it is difficult to escape the conclusion that many migrant parents are quite uninvolved either psychologically or behaviorally in the education of their children, in spite of the fact that nearly all claim to appreciate the importance of education. It is interesting to note, however, that half of those interviewed recognized that in many cases the failure of children to complete secondary school may be traced to a loss of interest in school and education. Eighteen per cent traced it to a loss of interest on the part of parents, who after a point cease to see the value in it, and thirty-one percent indicated the cause was a loss of interest on the part of the children, which is in many cases, closely related to the absence of active parental encouragement and support of continued education.

The lack of interest of many migrant parents in the education of the children is complemented by the pride they take in the financial contributions their children can make to their families by working in the fields. Field investigators were frequently struck by the pride which they displayed in discussing their children's work activities. Prestige is attached to doing an adult's work in many social groups. In migrant society older children and adolescents can do an adult's work in the fields; and therefore the prestige involved places a positive value upon working, which is higher than the value attaching to attending and doing well in school. This value is increased by the fact that in most families the children's economic contribution is considered very important, as has been suggested above. In this way work roles for older children and adolescents are legitimized, and come to be more highly regarded than the role of student. A low parental valuation of education and a high valuation of work and wage-earning combine to shape the attitudes and determine the behavior of most migrant children. Their low rate of secondary school completion is hardly surprising in this light.

Attitudes of Children Toward School and Work

The tenuousness with which migrant children hold the expectation to remain in high school, after turning 16 is discussed in detail in Chapter VII,"The Anticipation of Continued Education ". In brief, however, while two-thirds of those interviewed at first said they did not expect to drop out at that age, this fraction decreased to one-fifth when they were asked what they expected to do if their families should need the income they could earn by working in the fields. It is quite likely that in most cases their families will need it. Thus few realistically expect to remain in school when their attendance is no longer required by law; work looms more important in their minds.

This is not due to a lack of positive attitudes toward school; in fact, at least among the pre-adolescent children, positive attitudes toward school, and particularly toward summer school, are quite common. This is revealed in the fact that when a large group were asked which of four things they would prefer to do: play in the camp all day, go to the summer school, take care of their younger brothers and sisters, or work in the fields, eighty-six per cent replied that they would prefer to go to summer school (and, it should be noted, virtually none said they would prefer to work in the fields). It is true that this question was put to them in the school by persons whom they associated with the school; however, the frankness with which most children seemed to reply to this and other questions suggests that they were not simply saying what they thought the interivewers wanted to hear.

Further evidence of positive attitudes toward the summer schools is to be found in the fact that attendance at the schools was quite good, even though entirely voluntary. In addition, one-third of the children, when asked whether they would prefer going home at three or five in the afternoon, chose the later hour; and while the replies of the other two-thirds raise some doubt about how strongly the majority of migrant children prefer summer school to play in the camp, it is perhaps more significant that a substantial fraction do appear to prefer it strongly.

Attitudes toward winter school, in most cases in Florida, were less positive than those expressed toward summer school in New Jersey. Sixty-nine per cent of the children interviewed said that they liked the summer school better. The low-pressure approach and non-academic emphasis of the summer schools would themselves be sufficient to account for this fact; but interestingly, few children gave anything along these lines as their reason for preferring one school less than the other. The reason most frequently given was that their relationships with their teachers were less than satisfactory in one of the schools (nearly always the winter school)! forty-four per cent gave this reason. Thirty-four per cent specifically mentioned the use of physical punishment by the teachers in the winter schools as one reason why they liked their winter school less. This is surprising, not because the percentage is high, but because it is as low as it is; for over one-half of the children reported being physically punished "a lot" in their winter schools.

In addition, thirty-five per cent of the children included unsatisfactory relationships with other children among their reasons for preferring one school less than the other; in particular, they mentioned fighting and other forms of aggressive behavior. The commonness of such behavior is indicated in the fact that half of the children said that they fought "alot" in winter school. In all, three-fourths of the children included unsatisfactory relationships with either teachers or fellow pupils among their reasons for liking one school less than another. Only one-fourth mentioned some aspect of academic work or school services, while not mentioning interpersonal relationships.

When the question was reversed and the children were asked their reasons for preferring one school (usually summer school) over the other, interpersonal relationships with teachers or other children or both were mentioned somewhat less frequently; nevertheless, they were still mentioned by over half of the children. Those who did not mention them gave as their reason the services offered by the schools, such as free lunches, medical and dental care, and clothing distributions. These services are among the main attractions of the summer schools for both the children and their parents.

It is clear from these replies that the migrant children interviewed, like most children, respond primarily to the interpersonal relationships which the schools occasion and the material services which they provide, rather than to the formal instruction which they offer. This being the case, the schools can be expected to have great difficulty in holding them when they grow older unless strong support for the school and its educational program is forthcoming from the family. Such support has

5

been seen in large part to be lacking in migrant families. Therefore it is not surprising that as the children grow older, their interest in attending school wanes. Their most satisfying interpersonal relationships are independent of school attendance, and they become able to acquire more substantial material advantages than the schools can offer by working in the fields. Lacking an interest in formal education and a real awareness of its importance, and with no significant encouragement to pursue it, they are little motivated to remain in school.

As might be expected, they also reflect the attitudes of their parents in basing prestige among themselves at least in part on participation in field work. This is a reflection of their identification of participation in field work with adult status, and of their high valuation of adult status.*

Thus the migrant child feels considerable peer group pressure to assume an adult work role. The importance of this peer group pressure in motivating migrant children to go to work in the fields can hardly be over-estimated. Project interviewers have observed children who have not worked in ths fields being derided by other children for that reason, while they insisted they had worked, contrary to the knowledge of all present.

This prestige attaching to field work in the eyes of both adults and peers helps to explain the apparantly contradictory responses of children to questions concerning their attitudes toward it. At one point they were asked whether they would sooner play, go to school, baby-sit, or work in the fields, and fifty-one per cent of them picked field work as their last choice. Anyone who has observed the conditions of work in the fields can only be surprised that this percentage was not larger.

---

*Cf. Chapter IX, "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

At another point, however, children were asked whether or not they liked working in the fields. Seventy-two percent replied that they did like it. The reasons that they gave reveal satisfactions that obviously derive to a considerable extent from a sense of accomplishment and from the prestige accorded such work in their community. One little boy said, "I like cutting onions 'cause I'm good." A 12-year-old girl said proudly, "It's easy with the peppers..I picked 38 quarts of strawberries in one day." Another said, "It's not so hard 'cause it's easy to pick beans and strawberries." Other reasons given were along the same lines:

> "I'm good at it."
> "I can fill up the baskets good."
> "It's an easy job." Question: "Are you good at it?" Answer: "Yes."

One little girl of ten seemed to sum up the feelings of most of the children when she said, "When you work..you do good. It's a good job an' I be helpin' my mother." Most children saying that they liked field work gave reasons along these lines.

The relative importance of these social rewards compared with the attractiveness of earning money is evidenced by the fact that only 19 per cent of the children who said they like to work gave "earning money" as a reason why they did. Of course in migrant society prestige attaches to contributing to the support of the family, since this is identified with adult status as well as is working in the fields; but since nearly all children below the age of 15 or 16 contribute their income to the support of the family and do not keep the money they earn, earning money in itself cannot be an important factor leading them to like doing field work. As the children grow older, however, while considerations of prestige can be expected to grow in importance, earning money in itself undoubtedly becomes a relatively more important consideration.

Most of these children have thus adopted attitudes toward working in the fields which reflect their integration into the sub-culture of migrant society. They accept the important economic role they play in their families, and they reflect eh legitimization of their assumption of work roles by adults in the importance they attach to these roles in according prestige to one another. Their strong commitment to work roles, together with the tenuousness of their attraction to school, combine to weaken their motivation to continue their education, and to incline them to enter the farm labor work force on a full-time basis long before completing secondary school.

Part II - Farm Economy and Political Permissiveness

In Part I the economic structure of the migrant family and the attitudes of both parents and children toward work and school have been described. It has been shown how these economic and attitudinal factors work together to move adolescents out of school and into the work force. This result precludes participation by these adolescents at a higher level in the developing occupational structure in our society, which presupposes a minimum of a secondary school education. Yet this premature movement into the work force has not been obstructed by the prevailing economic and political forces in our society; on the contrary, they have tended to encourage its development.

Pressures Arising from the Farm Economy*

Three principle groups of agricultural laborers are available to farmers in New Jersey: Puerto Rican contract workers, day-haul workers, and migrant workers. The inducements which lead Southern workers to enter the migrant group with their families have been discussed above; it remains to suggest the reasons farmers hire migrants. There are certain disadvantages to the farmer in engaging migrants with families. Since he must house them on his land and they are in his employ, he must assume a certain minimal responsibility for their welfare. Sickness, accidents, or disturbances in the migrant camps, to some extent reflect on him. The presence of migrant families in the area is objectionable to many members of the farmer's community. More extensive camp facilities are required than would be for workers alone; and the presence of considerable numbers of women and children in the camps arouses the concern of civic and church groups, as well as government agencies, who put pressure on the farmer to maintain certain standards in the camps and of camp facilities.

---

* This discussion centers upon the farm economy in New Jersey, although much of it applies to that in other regions as well. Dr. George Luke, Chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Rutgers University, provided most of the information on which this discussion is based; the interpretation placed on it, however, is our own.

Two economic factors appear to account for the farmer's willingness to engage migrants in spite of these disadvantages of doing so. First, he is under economic pressure to keep his labor costs low; and secondly, he needs a short-term, dependable work force throughout the growing and harvesting season.

The farmer is engaged in an occupation involving high economic risks, Because of storage problems, he is usually at the mercy of the market; and when his crops are not among those receiving crop supports, as is the case for many New Jersey farmers, his risks are even greater. He is also subject to the fluctuations of nature; thus he can seldom be certain of both a good market and a good yield.

In recent years, the farmer has been caught in a cost-price squeeze. The prices he has been able to get for his crops have remained rather steady; for while an expanding market has resulted in an increasing demand for them, productivity increases have resulted in the supply matching or surpassing the rate of increase of the demand. Costs, on the other hand, have risen. Productivity has been increased in part by the introduction of costly new equipment; and even the cost of standard equipment has risen in recent years.[3] Labor costs have also risen, by 46 per cent between 1947-49 and 1960;[8] and while these costs and this increase are not as great as those in other areas of the economy, they still place an increased burden upon the farmer. In these circumstances he is under great pressure to keep his largest and most rapidly-rising cost -- labor -- as low as possible. He thus tends to offer the lowest wage that can attract sufficient labor to do his field work; and there are not too many groups who are willing to do the work involved for the wages that are offered.

Considerations of wage level aside, the farmer must secure a work force for the duration of the growing and harvesting season that is dependable, particularly during critical harvest periods. On the other hand, farm work is not available to sustain the necessary work force between growing seasons. This renders reliance upon the local population difficult if not impossible. Thus the farmer is forced to go to some lengths to recruit a dependable work force on a seasonal basis.

The three groups willing to do the work involved for the wages paid that were mentioned above are Puerto Rican contract workers, day-haul workers from surrounding urban areas, and domestic migrant families from the South. Considerations of wage costs and dependability encourages the farmer to favor the use of migrants over the other groups. Contract workers provide him with a dependable labor supply, and require less in the way of camp facilities than do migrants; but contract stipulations render employment of this group relatively costly. Day-haul workers are, if anything, less expensive than migrants, because they are paid at the same unit rate, and at the same time do not require any camp facilites. They are not a dependable source of labor, however; the farmer can never be certain of the number or the quality of workers that will appear when he relies upon day-hauls.

Migrants, their disadvantages notwithstanding, provide the farmer with a reasonably dependable labor force at relatively low cost. In some instances farmers have developed working arrangements with crew leaders that provide both farmers and migrants with some measure of security. The farmer offers employment to the leader's crew each year and may assist with transportation costs; in return, the crew leader supplies a dependable, experienced work crew each season. One crew leader in southern New Jersey has been coming to the same farm for over twenty years.

Evidence described above indicates that success in the recruitment of migrant workers often depends upon the fact that employement is available for all of the members of their families expept small children. While the head of the household alone cannot earn a great deal because of the low wages offered, this is more than offset in the minds of most migrants by the fact that the total income of three or four or five family members can be substantial.

Migrants also feel the low wages to be mitigated to some extent by the provision of housing facilities at little or no cost, and their location near the fields, thereby minimizing or eliminating transportation problems between place of residence and place of work. Needless to say, the provision of housing near theffields also works to the advantage of the farmer, for it increases the extent to which he canddepend upon his work force, and at the same time it isolates the migrants from neighboring communities.

Farmers who have had generally satisfactory experiences with migrants can be expected to hesitate to replace them with either the more costly contract laborers or the less dependable day-haul workers. Although there has been some tendency to replace them with the latter in recent years in New Jersey* there is no sign that migrants will cease to play an important role in areas in which they are currently employed, including New Jersey. The economic forces that have been instrumental in perpetuating the existence of this underprivileged, uneducated, impoverished group to the present time show little sign of weakening.

Labor's Failure to Organize Farm Wage Laborers

Labor unions have made occasional attempts to organize agricultural laborers, recognizing that migrants and other farm workers will be in a position to make demands upon farmers only when they can act collectively and in a disciplined manner. Some degree of organization is necessary if they are even to be able to represent their own cause before governmental and other groups in a position to help them. However, not only have all attempts to organize them into strong unions failed, but also there continues to be no organization of farm wage laborers providing spokesmen for them, as one can discover by perusing Congressional Sub-Committee Hearings on Bills relating to migrant welfare; church groups and unions with membership in occupational areas related to agricultural work have for the most part been the major supporters of such legislation. Organization of farm wage laborers do exist in some areas, such as California; but they are small in scope and membership, weak, and suffer from inadequate leadership.

There are several reasons for the failure of efforts to organize farm wage laborers effectively. Perhaps the most important one is that there are too many workers who are willing to work for the low wages offered; and therefore farmers are able to eliminate organization-minded workers by replacing them with less troublesome ones, of whom at present there seems to be an adequate supply. Some farmers even require workers to pledge that they will not engage in any union activity, before they will hire them. Where migrant crews are involved, farmers can often reach an understanding with crew leaders, to the effect that one condition of taking on the leader's crew is that he will see to it that none of the members of his crew engage in any such activitiy. As long as there are enough workers who will accept the farmer's demands along these lines, there can be no organization of the farm labor work force.

---

* Cf Chapter 1, "The People Who Follow the Crops".

There are two fundamental reasons why there are at present enough such workers. First, most migrants do not have sufficient resources to sustain them if they refuse work at the rates offered. They earn too little to be able to save enough to hold out until farmers consent to raise their rates. They have no place to turn if they do not accept whatever work is available, since they are already at the bottom of the occupational ladder. If they would like to engage in union activity, they also usually have families whom they must feed. Immediate concerns usually appear to be the more pressing ones.

Second, organization requires educated leadership and a potential membership sufficiently educated to respond to appeals by leadership and to understand the importance of disciplined, unified action in raising wages and improving working conditions. Among migrants, however, the requisite education is lacking on too broad a scale; even if farmers did allow union activity, it is probable that many migrant workers would fail to become involved in it.

This lack of effective organization among farm wage laborers has the significance that one of the most powerful sources of support for efforts to eliminate children and adolescents from the agricultural work force -- and to remove the reason for their inclusion in it -- does not exist. The employment of children and adolescents is one of the barriers to the organization of farm wage laborers; but if the history of child labor in industry is any example, the organization of adult workers is an important presupposition of their general elimination from the work force. Parents at present want their children to work, because they are unable to earn enough themselves to render it unnecessary. Only when they are able to earn enough -- and thus, perhaps, only when they have become effectively organized -- will they come to feel it unnecessary for their children to enter the work force prior to the completion of secondary school.

Political Permissiveness

In the absence of strong and effective organizations of farm wage laborers determined to remove children and adolescents from the farm labor work force, legal proscriptions are necessary to accomplish their removal. In most states, however, there are few such proscriptions. Children are frequently allowed to work in agriculture at the age of 12 without work permits as long as school is not in session during the hours in which they work; and they are permitted to enter the work force on a full time basis when school attendance is no longer required by law, which is often at the age of 16. This age is several years before adolescents are permitted to enter into many areas of industrial employment.

Furthermore, school attendance laws are very lax in many of the states in which migrant children attend winter school, in some cases requiring only that children attend at least one day in every three. In many states children may even be excused from school for varying lengths of time to work in agriculture, if their parents desire it. And of course, particularly in rural areas, laws that exist covering child labor and school attendance are frequently not rigidly enforced.

This political and legal permissiveness is not difficult to understand in view of the fact that not only the farmers, but most adult migrant workers as well, are united in opposing the legislation of further prosciptions against children working, and the rigid enforcement of existing laws on the matter. Support for further legislation and better enforcement of existing laws has come largely from civic-minded groups and unions not directly involved; and while their efforts have to some extent been rewarded, their views can hardly be said to have carried the day.

There is also a folk notion in the United States that agricultural employment is healthy and character-building, particularly for children. It apparently plays a significant role in discouraging broad legislation regulating the employment of adolescents in agriculture. The extent to which it has influenced the thinking even of those recognizing its harmful effect upon educational development is exemplified in the following passage from a Report by the Senate Sub-Committee of Migratory Labor.

> In many states...laws permit children under 16, or even under 14, to be excused from school to work in agriculture. While much of this work is no doubt wholesome, these exemptions in many cases create a serious interference with a child's education.[11]

As a matter of fact, however, only extractive and construction industries rank higher than agriculture in the rate of death from accident, to cite only one respect in which this folk notion would appear to be a misguided one.[1] National data on the extent to which children are involved in agricultural accidents are not available, but California and New York each average approximately three fatalities per year among adolescents under 18 working in agriculture.[12]

Whatever the influence of folk notions, it should be clear that the economic interests of both adult migrants and farmers employing migrants appear to them to recommend that work opportunities for adolescents in agriculture be leftopen; and that to date, the law has largely reflected their desires. In recent years a number of bills have been introduced into Congress proposing further regulation of the employment of children in agriculture; however, few have been enacted into law.* It is to be hoped that their chances for action, along with those of other bills relating to migrant welfare, will improve as support increases for all such measures related to the campaign against poverty announced by President Johnson. At present, however, the economic pressures that encourage the migrant worker to find work for his children in the fields have been countered by few political and legal pressures to exclude them from major work roles.

As has been suggested, problems of law enforcement compound the effects of this political and legal permissiveness. Since adults frequently take their children into the fields ostensibly because they cannot be at home without care, [illegible], it is difficult for law enforcement officers to ascertain, at least in a legal sense, that they are working rather than simply playing near their parents. Most of the time, of course, such officers are not present, and the children are then able to work. Most farmers and crew leaders are aware of the fact when children work; however, the pressures upon them to permit them to work have already been noted. Their motives in allowing them to work are not necessarily purely selfish ones; for they realize that having the children work greatly improves the financial situation of the families.

---

* Cf Appendix F "The Status of Migratory Labor Legislation".

The extent of the enforcement problem is indicated in the findings of the special U.S. census survey of agricultural workers conducted in 1959. It found that there were 457,000 paid workers in agriculture between the ages of ten and fifteen and that more than half of these children were between ten and thirteen. As has already been noted, two-thirds of the children interviewed in the present study, most of whom were twelve or under, reported that they work in the fields with their parents. Thus ineffective enfordement of permissive laws provides a political climate in which the economic and social pressures drawing children and adolescents into the farm labor work force can operate relatively free from restrictions.

Employment of Adolescents in Historical Perspective

Most of the barriers to the continued education of migrant children that have been described above are far from unique to them, at least historically speaking. The movement from childhood roles directly into adult occupational roles with its consequence of the discontinuance of education has historically been the lot of a large proportion of the children of working classes. It is only recently, in North American and in Europe, that adolescents and children have for the most part been effectively removed from industrial employment. The forces that drew children and adolescents into the industrial work force in the last century and the first part of the present one are very similar to the forces that draw migrant children into the agricultural labor force today. Writing in 1925, the National Industrial Conference Board began its volume on *The Employment of Young Persons in the United States* with this statement:

> The chief special factors in the employment of young persons appear to be these: (1) the necessity of the child for self-support or to supplement the family income or to assist the family labor; (2) the preference of the young person for work rather than for school attendance; (3) the desire for the young person to learn a trade; (4) the need of employers for young employees, or the advantage in employing them; (5) the attitude of parents, or the habits customs or local practice regarding children's work; (6) the lack of employment, school attendance or health regulations which would restrict children from going to work or employers or parents from employing them. [6]

This catalogue of "factors in the employment of young persons" bears a great resemblance to the factors that have been discussed in this chapter. It is important not to overlook the prevalance of child labor in industry as little as fifty years ago, in evaluating the possibilities of eliminating child labor in agriculture today. Paul David observes that:

> ... the actual amount of child labor increased in this country up to around 1900, when nearly one-fifth of the children between the ages of 10 and 16 were listed by the Census as gainfully employed. By 1930, the proportion had dropped to less than one in twenty, or about 650,000 gainfully employed children aged 10 to 16. Most of the decline took place after 1910. [5]

David attributes the decline in child employment in industry to three principal factors: the "development of more complicated machinery and more elaborate industrial processes" that made it "uneconomical to utilize child labor"; second, "a rising level of income (that) reduced the dependence of parents upon the meager earnings of children, and a rising standard of living (that) partly took the form of withdrawing children from the labor market"; and finally, "a growing and widely diffused humanitarian interest in the welfare of children". It is also widely recognized that efforts by adult workers to eliminate the competition of children played an important part in the removal of children from the industrial work force.

There is no reason why these same factors cannot combine to remove children from the agricultural work force, and enable them to obtain the education so essential to social and economic advancement. While it may be that prospects for immediate improvement of the existing situation are dim, the fact that these factors were able to counteract those listed above moving children into the industrial work force, and to do it in a relatively short period of time, suggests that a similar development can take place in the forseeable future with reference to migrant children. Technology is being applied to crop tending and harvesting; * attempts are being made to raise the income level of agricultural workers; and there is a growing concern for the welfare of migrant children. If these trends bear fruit, and if they are supplemented by laws and law enforcement more carefully regulating the entrance of children and adolescents into the agricultural work force, their presence in the work force should diminish, along with the needs that help prompt it.

It is of the utmost importance that migrant children cease to leave

* In New Jersey the introduction of the potato picker has already affected the movement of migrant families into the central portion of the state. Tomato pickers, asparagus cutters, and several other new harvesting machines have also been introduced on an experimental basis.

school without having acquired a secondary education. Whatever the parallels between the situation of children in industry fifty years ago and the situation of children in agriculture today, the lack of this minimum amount of education is certainly a much more serious matter today than it was then; for the occupations which do not presuppose at least this much education are dwindling in number, and are requiring a declining number of workers. An uneducated and unskilled worker who is technologically displaced in a technologically advanced economy faces the virtual certainty of a life of poverty, and the probability of unemployment. If the number of such workers is considerable, the cost to society in welfare support and wasted human potential can be great. It is thus of the greatest importance that the economic barriers to the continuance of education on the part of migrant children be eliminated.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Accident Facts" National Safety Council, (1961), p. 23

2. United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Information Bulletin, No. 238 , Economic Research Service (Washington, D.C., 1961), p. 43.

3. United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Outlook Chartbook, (Washington, D.C.: 1961), p. 7,8.

4. Sara A. Brown, "Neglected Children of Migrant Workers," Missionary Review of the World, (July, 1923), p. 515-520.

5. Paul T. David, Barriers to Youth Employment (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942) p.50.

6. The Employment of Young Persons in the United States, The National Indusrial Conference Board, Inc., 1925), p. 1-2.

7. Douglas Bray and Eli Ginzberg, The Uneducated, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 229-230.

8. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Hired Farm Workers in the United States, BES No. R-200. (Washington, D.C. 1961), p.,21.

9. William H. Metzler, Migratory Farm Workers in the Atlantic Coast Stream: A Study in the Belle Glade Area of Florida No. 966, U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D. C. 1955), p. 39-44.

10. The Migratory Farm Labor Problem in the United States: A Report together with Individual Views, Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, (Washington, D.C., 1961).

11. Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Labor Statistics and Research, "Work Injuries in California Agriculture, 1961" p. 5.

12. New York State Department of Labor, "Work Injuries in New York State Agriculture", Pub. No. B-123, 1961, p. 7.

Chapter XI

EDUCATIONAL PREREQUISITES FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY

Education is the key to the future of migrant children, and of underprivileged children in general. Education, in this sense, does not necessarily mean higher education, but rather means sound and completed primary and secondary education. Since there are fewer and fewer jobs available for those who have not graduated from high school--let alone to those who are semi-literate or illiterate--and since wages in such jobs tend to remain very low indeed, those lacking the requisite education lack the means of escaping the poverty and deprivation that burden their lives. Furthermore, it is well-known that this group is among the most prolific in our society; but parents in this group are least able to provide their children with the means of escaping poverty and deprivation. Thus, without outside help, the underprivileged not only will continue to perpetuate themselves, but also will tend continually to increase. Education along would seem to be able to do more than treat symptoms. If ignored by the rest of society, the children that are born into this group will not be adequately educated and hence will grow up to swell it. This is not to belittle the treatment of symptoms; it is simply to assert the obvious, that ailments are never remedied by the treatment of symptoms alone.

Society's Obligation to Act

The rest of our society has an obligation to act in this situation, which extends beyond the obligation to self, or self-interest. To be sure, it is in society's own interest that it not allow an alien and even antagonistic sub-society to emerge within it that does not participate in it and therefore feels it has little to lose by disrupting it. Further, it is in society's own interest to support almost any program of education, however expensive, that will enable underprivileged children to improve their social and economic position as adults, since the cost is not likely to exceed the amount required by welfare programs for individuals and families in need of public assistance because of insufficient education.

Yet the main issue is that our society is based upon certain principles which, if we are faithful to them, oblige us to endeavor to provide underprivileged children with an adequate education, regardless of the prudence of doing so. In brief, it is a fundamental tenet of our society that a person's lot should be determined to the greatest extent possible by his performance, within the context of certain rights guaranteed him regardless of his performance, or of anything else. His lot should be determined not by blood lines or parents' wealth or social position or the like but by all that is summed up in the words of "personal merit". Furthermore, we not only hold that socio-economic position should be determined by personal merit or performance , but also that is the responsibility of society to see that all individuals have a comparable opportunity to perform well. Whatever our practices, these would seem to be our principles.

In a society such as ours, a sound primary and secondary education is a fundamental pre-requisite for even average performance. Almost all activities leading to socio-economic advancement presuppose at least this much education. Those who have not had it can hardly be said to have a comparable opportunity of performing well. To provide underprivileged children with a sound primary and secondary education would not eliminate inequalities between them and other children; indeed, it would be a mistake to expect them later to perform correspondingly well in adult activities. It would, however, remove one of the more blatant inequalities of opportunity that now exists, and would prepare the way for general improvement in the lot of today's underprivileged children over that of their parents. As long as we do not try to make improvements, we are perpetuating a situation quite inconsistent with our beliefs in equality of opportunity and self-determination of position. It is in this predicament that a very considerable fraction of the population is, at present, condemned to remain: occupying a very low socio-economic position, and lacking the only real key to improvement--education.

Responsibility for Migrant Welfare

The State of New Jersey appropriates approximately $40,000 per year for its migrant summer school program; and this is virtually the limit of the extent to which it provides its migrants with educational and welfare program coverage. This raises the question of the Unit(s) of government that should bear the responsibility for the migrants' education and welfare. It should not be a matter of dispute that migrant workers should be covered by public education and welfare programs to the same extent that other citizens are. Problems arise in the care of migrants, however, because they live and work in different states and localities in the course of the year. This causes problems because of the residency requirements connected with many programs in most states and localities.

The question may legitimately be raised, however, whether the contributions of the migrants to the economic life of a community should not qualify them for coverage under its educational and welfare programs, along with its other citizens, regardless of the fact that the migrants are only temporary, non-tax-paying residents. The extent of their economic contribution should be clear: they are the harvesters of New Jersey's $75 million fruit and vegetable crops, and as such play an indispensible role in the state's economic life. Their contribution and role is especially great to those communities the entire economy of which is centered around fruit and vegetable production and processing.

Furhter, while they are only temporary residents, they are residents of New Jersey communities nonetheless--some for as little as one month, but some for as much as half of the year. Many migrants--indeed, most--do not work one summer in New Jersey and the next in another state, but return year after year with their families to New Jersey, often to the same counties and farms. Thus they might more accurately be called "permanent seasonal" residents, rather than "transients" or "temporary residents".

If the migrants' economic contribution and permanent seasonal residency are taken into consideration, it would seem that the localities and states in which the migrants live and work have a much greater responsibility for their education and welfare than has hitherto been recognized. They should each thus undertake a part of the financial burden that an extension of the relevent programs to migrants will entail.

To be sure, however, few localities and states alone will be able to shoulder the entire burden, if the number of migrants concerned is relatively large. A good case can be made for federal support, in addition to the argument that in some areas it will simply be necessary. Since the entire country is served by the labor of migrant workers--and since the entire country benefits, through lower fruit and vegetable prices, from the low wages migrants receive--the entire country bears responsibility for the welfare of its migrant workers. This case is reinforced by the consideration that migrants are really citizens and residents of the nation more than of any one state, since they live and work in a number of states. Further, federal involvement would be beneficial in the additional respect that some kind of federal coordination of state and local programs would be necessary if the results were not to be rendered chaotic in the case of those migrants who must move frequently.

Thus it would appear that all levels of government--local, state, and federal--bear responsibility for securing the education and welfare of migrant workers and their families, and that all must participate in the establishment and support of programs designed to secure them these benefits. At a minimum, this means extension of existing educational and welfare programs to migrants irrespective of residency requirements. Preferably, however, it also means the implimentation of broad new programs of the type discussed below.

PART I

General Considerations

Factors Affecting Educational Progress

Assuming, then, that our society ought to insure underprivileged children a sound education through the secondary level, one question which arises is that of the factors affecting their educational progress, and in particular, those affecting it negatively. Educational progress is indicated by performance on tests and in the classroom. The factors affecting scholastic performance were discussed at some length in an earlier Chapter; and these same factors are ones which affect educational progress generally. It would be needless to repeat that discussion here;

however the major points may be summarized briefly. General cultural background is of great importance, in a number of respects. For example, a child will be handicapped if his range of experiences has been very narrow--particularly if this narrow range has been quite far removed from that called upon in the classroom. A related consideration is that a radical discontinuity between school experience and life outside of school has a definite negative effect on the educational progress of the child--and indeed upon his general mental and emotional development. The child's educational progress will also be affected by whether his reference group is school-oriented (or more generally, intellectually-oriented), or, to take the opposite extreme, anti-intellectual.

This consideration is related to another major factor: motivation. A child who is highly motivated to do well in school and to master school-related skills and subject matter will do better and learn faster than a child who lacks such motivation, much less one who has a negative attitude toward school. Motivation also affects the levels to which work habits and powers of concentration are developed, and thus affects educational progress indirectly. The importance of these training phenomena ought not be underestimated; for they affect not only test performance, but also the rate at which the child is able to assimilate, relate, and utilize new information. Training constitutes a factor of considerable significance in itself.

Physical and psychological condition is another factor which must not be underestimated, particularly in the case of underprivileged children. It is easy to overlook the importance of physical condition; but it should be obvious that a child's educational progress will be affected if he is chronically sick, hungry, tired, or the like. Moreover, if something is bothering him, and he is unhappy or troubled, his problems do not leave him when he enters the school; if a child feels unwated or if his family goes from one crisis to the next, he may find it hard to concentrate on school work. Disruptive inner conflicts are also likely to result if there is a considerable disparity between his mental age as determined by non-scholastic experience (eg. in the areas of sex or work), and his mental age as determined by school progress, which determines the level of school material with which he is confronted. Such disparities are common among older underprivileged children.

Language is another factor, the importance of which can hardly be underestimated. A child from a home in which relatively complex standard English is spoken will have a great advantage is school over a child from a home in which relatively simple, non-standard English is spoken. Differences in vocabulary are also very frequently considerable, both in terms of size and content. Education presupposes considerable facility in both the use and learning of language; but underprivileged children are handicapped in this respect from the outset, and this handicap tends to compound its negative effect as time goes by.

Another, much less obvious factor, which nevertheless has considerable influence on education progress, is the self-image the child has of himself with respect to school-oriented activities and abilities. A child who has formed a negative image of himself (or, for that matter, of his group), tends to perform in accordance with that image. This is an example of what Merton has called a "self-fulfilling prophecy". A relatively high incidence of such negative self-images has in fact been found among underprivileged children and particularly among those who are Negro.

This factor is related to another, which also affects Negroes primarily, but also such other groups as Mexican-Americans and American Indians: This is the chronic stress which derives from occupying an inferior position in a caste system. Caste is differentiated from class largely in terms of the absence of the possibility of mobility in the former. The effects of such chronic stress upon educational progress are largely indirect, but they are none the less very real. And of course caste may affect educational progress very directly, as for example when inferior caste status determines that an individual shall attend inferior schools.

Additional Factors Affecting Migrant Children

These are some of the factors that negatively affect the educational progress of underprivileged children. Migrant children are one particular group of such children--perhaps the most underprivileged group of all. All of the factors that act as barriers to the educational achievement of underprivileged children generally, act as barriers to theirs--particularly in the instance of Negro migrant children. In addition, there are several other such negative factors which are present in their case, but not in that of many other such children. First, and most obviously, migrancy itself constitutes a barrier to educational progress, particularly in the case of those children who are constantly on the move, and are seldom in one place for more than a month or two. (It is less of a problem in the case of semi-migrants or "summer migrants", who spend the months between September and June in the same place, going on the road only for the summer.) Educational progress requires continuity, and perpetual discontinuity of educational experience can only have a negative effect upon it.

Educational progress is also dependent upon good school attendance from the beginning of the school year to the end. Children in families continually on the move necessarily miss many days in transit; and the knowledge that they will move again soon is hardly conducive to faithful attendance even while it is possible. Further, even the children of summer migrants suffer in this regard, in that they frequently enter school late in the fall, and hence are behind from the start of each year.

The quality of education the migrant children receive is also a factor in their poor educational progress. Most migrants winter in the southern part of the country; and whether in Florida, the Ozarks, Texas or California, the schools for Negroes, poor whites, and Spanish Americans may safely be said to be the most inferior in the country. The children of migrants who are on the road during the school year fare little better, since many teachers are reluctant to have them in their classes, and tend to prefer to work with their regular students.

Finally, from the age of 10 or 12 on, there is great economic incentive for migrant children to work in the fields and orchards, rather than to attend school. It may not be that other underprivileged groups are any better off financially than migrants are; but in the case of most other groups there are no employment opportunities for children under 16, and child labor laws apply to their children and are enforced much more rigidly. In the case of migrant children, however, work is there to be had, and in many states child labor laws either do not cover them, are ineffectual, or are not enforced. This work opportunity and economic incentive act not only as a direct barrier to the educational progress of older children, but also as an indirect barrier to that of younger ones;

for if they and their parents anticipate that they will have to begin working as soon as they are able, doing well in school will seem relatively unimportant.

Thus the barriers to educational achievement on the part of migrant children are even more considerable than are those of most other under-privileged children. It should be clear that far-reaching programs will have to be developed if these barriers are to be leveled, and if the goals of providing these children with a sound education through the secondary level is to be achieved. It is the responsibility of "privileged" society to undertake whatever programs are necessary to achieve it. In the following discussion a number of such programs will be suggested, some intended to cope with more of the problems raised above than others. Some possibilities may be overlooked, but the important thing is that imaginative, serious consideraton of such programs begin.

Role of Migrant Parents'

A presupposition of the success of almost any program, as long as custody of most children remains with their parents, is the cooperation of the parents; and the chances of success of almost any program can be increased if their cooperation extends to active support. Fortunately, many migrant parents have aspirations for their children which are likely to lead them to cooperate with and actively support any programs designed to further the educational progress of their children, provided they are familiarized with it, are given some grounds to hope that it will contribute materially to the realization of their aspirations, and are not compelled by it to make too great a financial sacrifice. These aspirations may be reduced to two, which are widely shared: that their children finish high school, and that they become something other than migrant farm laborers. Both aspirations were voiced by nearly all mothers questioned in the present survey*; and other studies such as Greene's[1] report similar findings. These aspirations, however vague, constitute a potentially significant positive factor that ought not to be ignored, as the attempt is made to provide migrant children with a sound education through the secondary level.

It will remain only potential, however, unless the provisions suggested above are taken seriously. First, the parents can hardly be expected to cooperate and give active support unless the time is taken to explain to them the program in question, and to communicate to them a sense of the important role they can play in insuring its success. An interest taken in them by teachers is sure to pay dividends in the interest they are thereby led to take in what the teachers are trying to do with their children.

Secondly, if their aspirations are to be a real and constructive force, the parents must have some expectation that their aspirations will be realized. Their expectations cannot fall too far below their aspirations, for otherwise they are very likely to feel--and very understandably--that efforts on their part would accomplish nothing, and therefore would be futile. This means that the total program to which they are asked to give their support must contain some promise that, if it is successful, their children actually will be able to finish high school and go on to some more rewarding and desirable occupation than migrant farm work. Far-reaching programs are therefore more likely to secure their cooperation and support than are isolated minor ones.

* Chapter III, "The Migrant Family"

Thirdly, migrant parents are in no position to make very considerable financial sacrifices, regardless of the long-range promise of any program. Not only can they not afford additional expenditures; they also cannot afford to sacrifice the earning power of older children while they finish high school, as long as these children continue to live with them and require support.* Therefore, any program whose goal is the children's completion of high school will have to include some provision to eliminate the prospect of financial sacrifice if it is to secure the full cooperation and support of the parents. These three factors must be taken into consideration in the design and implementation of any program; but if they are, such a program would seem very likely to have the parents behind it.

Improvements in Existing School Programs

Before turning to an examination of such programs, several important changes may be mentioned which would also seem to be presuppositions for the success of any of them. Firstly, and most obviously, a major effort must be made to improve the quality of the schools attended by migrant children. Indeed, this holds for the schools attended by underprivileged children generally. The goal is a sound education through the secondary level, and not merely the completion of the 12th grade. As was suggested above, the schools attended by migrant children, particularly at their home bases, are some of the poorest schools in the country. As long as this remains the case, their education will remain inadequate. Better teachers and more adequate facilities are essential. This point is sufficiently obvious that it need not be labored. If localities, counties and states are unable to finance the necessary improvements, there will be no alternative other than for the federal government to subsidize them; for the present situation cannot be allowed to continue.

---

* Cf. Chapter X, "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education"

Secondly, and equally importantly, it is necessary to design a body of educational materials for use in schools by underprivileged children, and by migrant children in particular, which relates more meaningfully to the body of experience that they bring to the classroom than does the middle class-oriented material used almost universally in public schools today. Such materials should not supplant conventional materials entirely, and perhaps not at all beyond the earlier grades; but they should serve to help the children successfully make the necessary transition from their extra-scholastic experience to the educational experience. A serious problem and barrier to the educational progress of the children mentioned above is the discontinuity between their experiences outside of school and the material with which they are confronted in school. If this discontinuity cannot be entirely eliminated--as it doubtless cannot be--special attention should be devoted to helping the children make the transition, and to helping them understand wherever possible the relation between the two "worlds". As long as this is not done, they will remain unable satisfactorily to assimilate much of the material essential to an adequate education; and their education progress will suffer accordingly.

There are other presuppositions of success, regardless of the particular programs settled upon, that need to be mentioned. One of the more important concerns itself with the attitude and self-image of the child with reference to school and educational achievement. Negative attitudes toward school, ranging from dislike of it to anti-intellectualism, must obviously be combated, or better, prevented from forming, if satisfactory educational progress is to be made. Efforts must also be made to prevent the child from forming a negative image of his scholastic abilities and of those of his racial or social group. He must be made to feel confident, secure, and "at home" in the classroom if his progress is not to be retarded, and if he is not to be absent from school more than is necessary and to leave school as soon as possible.

These are all delicate matters, but much can be done in the first years of contact with school to establish a positive attitude and self-image in a child. These are the critical years; few children enter school with dislike of it or a negative self-image with reference to it. A complete discussion of what should be done in this regard does not belong here. But it may be observed that teachers sensitive to the importance of the child's attitudes, materials designed to smooth the transition between the world the child lives in and the classroom, pleasant surroundings, and emphasis upon success--of members of the child's racial and social grasp, as well as of the child himself in the classroom--would doubtless go far toward establishing a set of attitudes conducive to educational progress.

As was also suggested above, physical condition is a factor that must receive greater attention when one is dealing with underprivileged children, than with middle class children. They are much more frequently distracted by physical problems than are other children, and this can have a marked effect on their educational progress. Sickness, hunger, and tiredness are examples of the "distractors" in question. While tiredness is difficult for schools to deal with in any systematic way, programs do exist which, if expanded and used widely, could eliminate much of the barrier raised by sickness and hunger. With respect to the latter, some schools now provide free lunches. This is quite sound, although not entirely adequate, for many underprivileged children come to school having had little or no breakfast. Some administrators are coming to realize that the same rationale supporting free lunches is applicable to a morning meal as well; and it is likely that an expansion of the program along these lines would prove very worthwhile.

Some schools also provide dental and medical services, to varying extents. Many underprivileged children would never be given systematic examinations and treatment elsewhere. A broad school health program would therefore meet a considerable need of the children, as well as serve to eliminate distracting ailments. Further, there is evidence that the existence of such programs is an important factor in securing the attendance of children in school, for they constitute an immediate motive for parents to make sure their children attend. However peripheral these programs may be to the major concern of a sound education, they are of considerable significance in themselves and should be expanded.

The Problem of Early Sexual Activity

A final problem to be touched upon before turning to specific educational programs is that posed by the early sexual activity of migrant and other underprivileged children.* It is really a dual problem; its more obvious aspect derives from resulting early pregnancies; while its other aspect, less often noted, is the disparity it helps produce between the level of material generally taught children in their early teens and the level of their activities outside of the classroom. To consider the latter first, if one participates in "adult" activities to any extent, it becomes increasingly difficult to take seriously something geared to a definitely pre-adult mentality. If material is presented to a sexually precocious group of 13-15 year olds who feel themselves to be adult in certain respects, it might be expected that they would regard it rather differently than would others. Some attempt must be made to present the necessary material in a manner that takes into account the different feelings and self-image of such a population. Perhaps all that can be said is that teachers, in their selection and presentation of material, must keep in mind that they are not dealing with a population which regards itself as most middle class children of that age do--and doubtless as most teachers did at that age--but rather with a population which regards itself as adult, or nearly so, at least in some important respects.

---

* Cf. Chapter IX, "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education".

Turning to the other aspect of the problem, efforts to secure the completion of high school by migrant children--and underprivileged children generally--will obviously be frustrated by early sexual activity. This is true not only for girls when it results in pregnancies, but also for boys if they undertake economic responsibility for the girls and their children. If educational goals are to be attained, something must be done to eliminate the barrier which arises with early parental responsibility. Theoretically, three possibilities suggest themselves which might accomplish this end: elimination of early sex activity, prevention of pregnancy, and day care and support for children of high school aged parents. The first, while a theoretical possibility--and perhaps the most desirable one--is unfortunately not a very practical one. Patterns of behavior are difficult to change; they are usually successfully modified only by developments within the social group in question. It may be suspected that early sexual activity among underprivileged groups will be reduced only as these groups become more educated and reach higher social and economic levels. But one presupposition of their becoming so educated is the elimination of the barrier posed by the burdens of early parenthood. Attention therefore must be focused on the other two alternatives.

Education of the population in question in methods of the prevention of pregnancy is a highly controversial matter. However, its relative effectiveness and the limited alternatives make it essential that it be taken under serious consideration. Something must be done; the situation ought not be ignored because a solution that is both effective and uncontroversial is lacking. By the time they begin sexual activity, many middle-class children are aware of some methods of pregnancy prevention; it is part of that body of information which for them is simply "in the air". This is frequently not so in the case of underprivileged children. This lack might be remedied in several ways; if direct instruction presented in the course of "health" or "physiology" classes is found too objectionable, schools could act indirectly through youth organizations or even parents--who themselves are frequently in need of such education.

This alternative, however objectionable and whatever its shortcomings, may appear in a somewhat better light when viewed in contrast to the only other practical alternative. This is to provide the children with no pregnancy prevention education, and then attempt to provide sufficiently in terms of day care and necessities for the children born to school-age parents, so that they interfere as little as possible with their parents' completion of high school. The inadequacies of this alternative are many and obvious; not the least of them is that girls who have become mothers a number of years before completing high school are not likely to take a very great interest in completing it. Further, the discrepancy between school age and extra-scholastic role will be even greater for children who have become parents than for children who are simply precocious sexually. The welfare of their children must also be taken into account; continued school attendance puts off assumption of adult roles, and hence high school parents may be less adequate parents than those who drop out and assume complete adult roles. Putting the children up for adoption is not a practical solution, for aside from the emotional problems this involves, most underprivileged children are members of racial or ethnic groups in which there are already far more children available for adoption than there are homes willing to take them. In short, attempting to deal with the problem of early pregnancies only after they occur is hardly satisfactory for they constitute a definite barrier to educational progress and social and economic advancement.

Before leaving this general matter, it should be observed that numerous pregnancies no less than early ones constitute such a barrier. Families with very low incomes are in a very poor position to secure adequate education for their children to start with; and their difficulties are compounded when they have many children--usually many more than they want, or can afford. The result is increased economic hardship, as well as a home atmosphere and situation hardly conducive to study. An even better case can be made for a program to educate adults in such groups in methods of pregnancy prevention than their older children, since it is somewhat less objectionable and no less necessary.

Other programs designed to improve their situation may also be desirable; namely, those focusing upon their economic needs. One which is already in effect in a number of counties, consists of providing each family with family allowances, scaled according to the number of children in the individual family. This would provide assistance to the families that need it most, and would take some of the pressure off of migrant parents of large families to encourage their older children to leave school to work in the fields. It may also be supposed that their children would benefit if employment opportunities for heads of families were stabilized, extended and if their wages were raised. Such programs could have a very positive effect. However, unless they were very extensive indeed, they could at best compliment programs dealing more directly with the education of children. A discussion of such programs will constitute the remainder of this chapter.

PART II

Modifications of the Summer School Program

Before turning to broader, more general recommendations, specific modifications of and additions to existing migrant summer school programs are set out.

Reduction in Class Size

One of the factors most often referred to when suggesting ways to improve the summer school program was class size. Teachers have pointed out that there are children of varying performance levels in their classes. This fact makes individualized instruction necessary. A class size near the 20-student level, these teachers felt, is too large to carry out such a program. Most of them indicated that a class size about 10 to 12 would be best for the type of program they felt was necessary. Nearly all of the migrant children are retarded. The importance of small classes with much opportunity for individual instruction of retarded children is well recognized by educators. It would be appropriate for the summer schools to attempt to set a class size policy based on the requirements for teaching retarded children. (Many of the programs outlined in the remainder of this section are based on the assumption that the future class size in the summer schools will be small.)

Longer Orientation Period: Workshops for New Teachers

Teachers who are entering the summer school program whether at the primary, intermediate, or secondary teaching level, should be given a thorough orientation to the summer school program before beginning their duties. In recent years an orientation program has been in effect, but this program could undoubtedly be strengthened. On important way to strengthen this orientation program would be to institute workshops in which experienced teachers would go over curriculum materials and study units with the new teachers. In this way the special problems of teaching the migrant children could be conveyed to new teachers along with possible solutions to those problems.

A yearly conference of teachers in the instructional program of the summer school would also enable them to exchange experiences and build up a body of knowledge about the problems they face and about the solutions they have discovered for these problems.

Concentration on Language Skills

In the interviews with children attending the summer schools, arithmetic was most frequently chosen as the favorite subject by Negroes. Puerto Ricans were a little more likely to choose some form of language skill rather than arithmetic. The appeal of arithmetic as an opening subject, for Negro students, has also been discovered by Dr. Livingston Cross in his general educational development program for adults.

In spite of this evidence concerning the appeal of arithmetic as a subject in which interest is relatively easy to stimulate among Negro students, it is our contention that the program in the summer school should concentrate on language skills. The schools do emphasize them at the present time, but this emphasis shoild be strengthened.

The principal grounds on which we would recommend a heavy concentration on language skills are two: first, the summer session is short. There are only five weeks of instruction. During this period of time, a general educational program may be too diffuse to work any real improvement in all of the children's basic academic skills. Secondly, since a concerted effort in one academic area is suggested by the short time available, the area chosen should be the most fundamental for continued education. There is little doubt that language skills, and in particular the development of reading and writing skills, are the most important.

There are a number of ways we feel such a program coid be strengthened in the summer school.

Use of Written Work in all Subject Areas

In addition to de-emphasizing all non-verbal subjects such as crafts and arts, every subject should involve some reading and writing by the students. These materials should reflect aspects of life with which the children are already familiar. This last suggestion is based on the frequent comments of teachers that children find it difficult to be interested in materials describing aspects of life which they have had no first-hand experience with.

In addition to the abundant use of written materials in the regular subject areas, the schoolroom, and in fact the entire school, should be complete with short, attractive, printed materials related to projects and instructional themes in which they are involved or to which they are being exposed. Abundant use should be made of signs, posted directions, written slogans, mottoes and jokes. No matter where they are in school, children should be able to look at something they can read.

When children read poorly, there is a great temptation to rely on programs which avoid this weakness. Arts, crafts, music and films tend to occupy the major part of the school day. Such an emphasis should be avoided, regardless of the difficulties involved; children must receive constant practice in reading and writing during the short time they are in the summer schools, if any real improvement in their skills in these areas is to be gained.

Use of Written Take-Home Projects

If possible, the children should be given, nearly every day, some type of project involving writing. This project should take the form of a useful item that the children can bring home to their parents. Examples might be work record sheets for the father, a calendar with important events in the school during the summer listed on it, and dresser trays with printed mottoes as an indication of what can go in the tray. These projects should not require much time and should be within the capabilities of the children.

Such projects would serve two purposes. They would give the children another opportunity to practice writing, and they would provide an almost daily reminder to the parents of the children's participation in the school program. In as much as possible, this reminder should offer the parents an indication of the useful nature of the school program. Field workers with our project have frequently met parents who do not feel the work the children do in school is challenging or useful. In most cases, these attitudes develop because the parents are not familiar with the school program and apparently have little direct evidence of its usefulness.

Distribution of Reading Materials

In the chapter on performance, it was discovered that one of the educational experiences associated with a relatively advanced reading level was the amount of outside reading the students reported. Even though most of their reading materials consisted of comic books, the relationship clearly indicates that practice in reading outside of school, apparently of any sort, makes a real contribution to the improvement of this skill. Even the most cursory observation of conditions in migrant camps reveals the almost complete absence of reading materials. Books, newspapers and magazines are extremely rare. Even comic books are in scarce supply and are passed from one reader to another.

Many factors contribute to the absence of reading materials in the camps. Certainly one of the most important is the generally low level of literacy among migrants. This factor, together with the lack of interpersonal stimulation to read are undoubtedly the major ones accounting for the lack of reading materials. Other circumstances, however, also certainly contribute to the infrequency of reading in the migrant camps. One of these is the crowding in the camps, which was described in the chapter on migrant camp life. It is noted there that this crowding leads both to a lack of privacy and to the stimulation of play-activity among adolescents and children. Children find themselves in a situation in which there is almost nothing to read, without quiet surroundings in which to read any materials they might have, and they have the ever-present distraction of their friends at play to lead them to postpone any reading they might be inclined to do. Under these circumstances, it is both surprising and encouraging to find that some children actually do report spending time in reading.

It is not possible for the schools to alter the outside reading environment of these children drastically. With very little effort, however, the schools can work a fundamental improvement in this environment, by seeing to it that children have readily available to them in their homes attractive materials to read. These materials must be such that their subject matter interests the children, if they are to use them to any extent; however, old issues of many magazines could meet this requirement effectively, and with a minimum of expense.

Incorporation of Throw-Away Library Materials into School Programs

Summer schools can also help meet the need for reading materials by incorporating a "throw-away" library program into their normal budget and operating procedure. The term "throw-away" does not mean that books should be simply given to the children; it means that attractive but inexpensively bound books should be circulated, and that children should be encouraged to return them but not punished if they fail to do so. As many as possible of the books should be kept in the library, but all of the books should be considered expendable, and provisions should be made to replace those which disappear. In order to avoid the connotations of stealing, the children should be told specifically that the library would like them to return books which they have finished reading; but they should be informed that if they like a book particularly well, they are free to keep it.

This library program would be operated within the classroom and become part of the normal schedule. Children should be given a short browsing period at the end of each day, so that they can pick out books to take home that evening. Each morning the teacher should encourage children to report on books they have read during the evening. This reporting period would encourage children to read the book in the evening so they can make the report on the book the next morning.

It is to be understood that a program such as this will involve considerable losses. The total cost of such a program, however, losses included, would constitute a relatively small part of the total school budget, and would fulfill a most pressing need.

Use of Mealtimes for Development of Conversational Skills

The children have two mealtime periods in the school. One is a milk period when they first enter school in the morning, and the second is their lunch period. Both of these periods offer the teacher an unusual opportunity to learn more about the children in their classes, and at the same time to provide the children with a chance to practice conversational skills. One of the most frequently noted characteristics of migrant children is their inability to articulate ideas. The interviewers employed by this study frequently described the extremely poor verbal ability displayed by many of the children.

By grouping the children according to their class, around the teacher at lunchtime, it would be possible for the teacher to carry on lunchtime conversations with the children, encouraging them to describe their daily lives, the happenings of the previous evening, their reactions to the school, and the experiences which mean most to them. Through these conversations, the teacher may not only arrive at a far better understanding of the children in her classes, but she should also be able to establish rapport with the children much more rapidly than is now usually the case. A similar period after the opening exercises in the morning, when the children are drinking milk, would provide them with two such conversational periods in the course of the day.

Record Keeping and Transferal

The recommendations that have been made to this point apply primarily to the operation of the summer schools, and as such are under the jurisdiction of the states. In the matter of record keeping, however, agencies of the federal government can play an important and useful role.

There would appear to be no uniform records kept on all children who attend migrant summer school programs. Such a form should be developed and maintained for every child. This form should have such basic information as the child's home base address, his parents' names, his age, medical history, performance levels in various subjects, enrollment and attendance, and a short description of his social characteristics. The federal government could perform a real service by developing such a form and making it available to the various states carrying on summer school programs.

One of the problems very frequently mentioned by teachers in the summer school program in New Jersey was the lack of adequate records on the children. Most of them felt that they spent much more time attempting to evaluate the current academic status of their children, than would have been necessary had up-to-date records been available. The experience of the Colorado School Program indicates that persistent efforts to solve this problem can bring improvements. The success with which efforts in New Jersey met to test for the feasibility of locating children at their home base schools has been very encouraging. This past summer, at least one of the schools in the New Jersey program attempted to obtain records from the home base school. They obtained responses to approximately one-fourth of these requests. Although this response rate is low, it does indicate that a program for the transfer of records is possible.

Our staff has given considerable thought to the problem of transferring school records. The following recommendations are made:

One: A copy of the uniform record form proposed above should be sent to the home base school of each child who attends the summer program. With this record a reply card should be enclosed, requesting the home base school to indicate if and when the child returns. Our experience has been that when there is no reply to a first request of this sort, a second request will be honored.

Two: In the spring, the director of the summer school program should request the home base school to contact the parents of the children from the previous summer session attending that school. They should attempt to obtain from the parents a statement of their summer work plans, including the state in which they plan to work, and the area within the state. If parents indicate that they are planning to return to the director's state, he should request that records be sent to him at the end of the normal school year at the home base. If the parents indicate that they plan to work in another state having a summer school program, the director should notify the proper administrative official in that state of this child's probable appearance.

Three: A letter should be sent directly to parents at the same time this request is made for information from the school. This letter should indicate that the director is holding a place in the school for their child; a reply card should be enclosed, so that they can indicate their plans to the director personally and easily. This doublecheck should improve the response rate for this very important item of information, and could conceivably influence parents if not to return to the director's state, at least enroll their child or children in summer school when they do return.

Four: Co-ordination between state summer school director's should be encouraged through conferences aimed at the development of coordinated activities among the summer schools. This coordination would include transfer of information about children from one state to the other, exchange of program developments which have proved useful, and most importantly, establishment of a coordinated liason with home base schools. This last important part of a coordinated program among summer schools could be carried on, of course, on a regional basis. The exchange of program materials might very well be nation-wide.

Methods for Involving Parents in the Summer School Program

One of the most important findings obtained in this study of migrant children in the New Jersey summer schools is the tremendous influence of the child's perception of his parent's attitudes on his own expectations for continuing in school. It is readily apparent, therefore, that any effort to improve the probability that children will continue in school beyond the minimum age stipulated by law requires parental support if it is to be successful. It is doubtful if the summer schools can have any marked effect on parents' attitudes, but efforts in this direction should be incorporated into the normal school program.

Interview data indicates that both the parents and the teachers acknowledge the importance of mutual contact for the improvement of the children's educational outlook and performance. Although they have failed to act accordingly; their recognition of its importance provides a basis for the improvement of this situation.

One very useful type of parent-teacher contact would be to have teachers visit the parents of the children who will be in their classes, during registration week. For this proposal to be successful, teachers must have relatively small classes, and a decision must be made during registration week concerning the make-up of the classes. The advantages of this contact, however, certainly outweigh the administrative problems they might involve. This parent-teacher contact should consist of an informal, private meeting, preferably at the camp, during which the teacher would be concerned primarily with introducing herself to the parents and becoming acquainted with them. Any useful information obtained about the children these parents are sending to the school would be very helpful, of course, but the session should be aimed primarily at getting parents and teachers acquainted.

Two: An experienced teacher should act as a liason between the school and parents. In particular, she should become acquainted with all crew leaders, since these men usually have considerable influence over the families that work for them. She should arrange special programs involving the parents in the school, such as a parent's day. Any program of this sort, which brings the parents into the school, should be carried on on a small group basis. One class at a time should have parents in, and each parent should be able to see his child perform in some school activity; large programs in which individual participation is low, should be avoided.

This teacher could also make efforts to develop out-of-school programs, coordinated with various community and religious organizations who work with migrant children. It should be emphasized that these programs should not be carried on during the school day, but in the evening or on weekends. The cultural poverty of camp life has already been indicated. The school should make every effort to assist in the alleviation of the uniformity of camp life. A liason teacher can serve as a useful coordinator between the school and other agencies in their efforts to introduce richness and variety into it. School programs could supplement and build upon programs provided by these other organizations.

Three: The liason teacher could also perform a very useful function by arranging private conferences between parents and teachers to be held at the school near the end of the school term. These conferences, should be used by the teacher to indicate the extent of the child's development during the summer, to discuss with the parents some of the child's educational problems, and to encourage them to bring the child back to the summer school the following year. A check should be made at this time on the most probable home base school for the children involved. This information should be used to make a final decision on the place or places to which records of the child's summer school attendance and requests for information about the child's enrollment should be sent.

The contact between parent and teacher should have two main purposes. The first purpose is to encourage the parents to become involved in the education of their children, both in the summer school and in the home base school. In this regard, these parent-teacher contacts serve the same purpose as school take-home projects. The second purpose is to encourage the participation of the children in the migrant summer school program in one locality for a number of years. At present, few children attend the same summer school two or three years in a row. Person-to-person contacts, in which continuous enrollment of the children is strongly encouraged, provides one means of improving this situation.

A Summer Work-School Program*

Some of the very large turnover in the students attending the migrant summer schools in New Jersey comes from the fact that their families do not return to New Jersey. Much of it, however, occurs because the children attending the summer schools in previous years reach the age of 11 or 12 and drop out of summer school in order to work in the fields. The very powerful social and economic forces which bring about this effect have been discussed in detail above.** In particular, the need and the desire of families to obtain income from their children is an overwhelming barrier to the continued participation of older children in the normal summer school program beyond the age of 12.

The problem, then, is to work out an educational program for these children which will bypass this economic barrier. Fortunately, recent events in New Jersey suggest one method by which this barrier can be sidestepped. Mr. Thomas Bogia, director of the Migrant Summer Schools in New Jersey, and Dr. Livingston Cross, of the Glassboro State College, have begun a program geared to preparing adults, 20 years of age and older, for general educational development examinations. Through this program they hope to enable some migrant workers who drop out of high school to receive high school equivalency certificates. Through the efforts of Mr. Weintraub, director of Adult Education in New Jersey, they have initiated liason arrangements with the Florida school systems to carry out this program during the winter months in that state. Although their program is in its initial stages, the response by young adults has been encouraging. A similar program instituted for children who are 12 or older, and so legally able to do field work, could prove very useful in promoting their participation in a summer educational program beyond the age at which they presently leave it.

---

* Cf. Part III on succeeding pages.

** Cf. Chapters IX and X, "The Social Barriers to the Continuance of Education" "The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education"

Although the most appropriate method of implementing such a program is difficult to establish and implement, it is readily apparent that some means of reducing the work day for the children, involving some economic sacrifice by the family, would be crucial to the success of the program. In addition, the normal school day which runs from nine to three is obviously not an appropriate time period for a school-work program. The arrangement that would probably be most useful would be to have a school day running from 7 or 8 A.M. until noon; this program could include breakfast and lunch as inducement for attending. The children could then spend the afternoon in the fields. The difficulties in getting children to school early should not be great since both parents go to the fields early in the morning, and most children report rising early.

It should be possible with these older children to carry on a more concentrated program of study than with the younger children. The direct relevance of what they are taught for effective daily living could be more easily demonstrated in such a program, and therefore the problem of establishing the worth of the program in parents' minds should be less difficult.

Although such a program for education throughout adolescence in the summer schools would probably more than double the costs of their operations, this proposal has the immense advantage of substantially reducing the economic liability to families who permit their children to continue in school. The idea of a school-work arrangement is, of course, far from new; its applicability to the situation of migrant adolescents should be quite clear.

Although the above recommendations have been stated in terms of the operation of summer school programs for migrant children, it is apparent that many of these recommendations are equally suited to the operation of winter schools which they attend. In particular, the wider application of the school-work principal with its emphasis upon the acquisition of the fundamentals of a high school education, offer one possible solution to the very serious problems presented by the economic circumstances of most migrant families.

PART III

General Recommendations
Leading to New Federal Legislation

The Kindergarten Program

Children who have had "reading readiness" programs in kindergarten are much better prepared for first grade and reading instruction than are children who have not. Further, children who have attended kindergarten and have acquired a familiarity with school and a set of positive attitudes toward it, find the adjustment to classroom learning situations and the transition from outside experience to school educational matter much easier than children who have not. This is particularly true of children from homes in which they have acquired neither reading readiness nor such familiarity and attitudes. It is just such children, however, who generally do not attend kindergarten prior to entering grade school. They are therefore at a distinct disadvantage relative to those children who have been prepared for school by both home and kindergarten. This deficiency in preparation is difficult to make up, with the result that early educational progress, and therefore later progress as well, is considerably impaired. Kindergarten attendance and a good kindergarten program would seem to be an important first step in improving the educational program of underprivileged children generally.

Why, as a rule, do such children not attend kindergarten at present? There are a number of reasons. First, kindergarten attendance is not required by law in most places, as is school starting with the first grade. This has two effects: kindergarten classes are not provided in many poorer school systems; and where they are, parents frequently do not send their children. The latter is due to several other reasons. One is that parents often do not realize the importance of kindergarten for future educational progress. Another is that kindergarten usually lasts for only a few hours, or at most for half a day; and therefore working mothers tend to make other arrangements for the whole day, while mothers who stay at home frequently do not feel it is worth the bother of washing, dressing, and sending their children, for such a short period.

A program at three levels would therefore appear to be necessary to secure general kindergarten attendance. First, an effort shold be made to persuade school boards who do not provide kindergartens of their importance, and to make sure that all boards recognize the value of a good kindergarten program stressing both reading readiness and school adjustment. Secondly, a program of education must be conducted to communicate to the parents of underprivileged children the importance of kindergarten attendance. And thirdly, it might be well to attempt to secure an extension of mandatory school attendance laws to cover kindergartens and kindergarten age children; for it may be that this measure alone will succeed in securing the attendance of the majority of children who most need kindergarten. This would be an important improvement over the educational program existing at present.

But, it would be far from enough; for the pre-kindergarten years are crucial in a child's mental development. In fact, psychological evidence indicates that the years between six and three are those, as Charles Silberman, says in Crisis in Black and White, in which "the battle is won or lost". Silberman cites Dr. Ronald Koegler, a neuro-psychiatrist at UCLA working with underprivileged children, who reports the "two and a half and three year olds are almost universally very curious and friendly, but by the age of six, the children are already different. The culturally deprived have already been deadened by their environment and are already so far behind middle class children that all the best elementary education will not be sufficient for them to catch up."

A Nursery School Program

The deficiencies of underprivileged children cited above in range of experiences, proper motivation, training and work habits, and language all develop in these crucial years. Further, attitudes toward self and school are frequently developed in this period. Some program must be devised to keep such deficiencies and negative attitudes from forming; for once they are present, the schools are fighting a losing battle in attempting to provide children having them with an education comparable in adequacy to that of more fortunate children. Not only does the presence of such attitudes mean that underprivileged children enter school at a disadvantage; but also this disadvantage compounds itself and produces increasing retardation and obstruction to educational progress by producing further feelings of inferiority and dislike to school, withdrawal, cessation of effort, poor attendance, and other phenomena with equally negative effects.

It would seem, therefore, that if the schools are to succeed in educating underprivileged children adequately, they must expand their programs below the kindergarten age level, and develop a pre-school or nursery school program geared to preparing all children experientially, motivationally, habitually, linguistically, psychologically--to take full advantage of primary and secondary education. This is the suggestion of Silberman: "To reverse the affects of a starved environment--to provide the sensory and verbal and visual stimuli that are necessary for future learning and to teach the specific skills that are prerequisites to learning to read--the schools must begin admitting children at age three or four, instead of five or six. The nursery school holds the key to the future--

but a very different kind of nursery school from the one with which most Americans are familiar."

In existing nursery schools the emphasis is upon the word "nursery"; they are places where mothers can leave their children for the day in the confidence that someone responsible will tend to them. In those suggested here the emphasis would be upon the word "school". They would be more than mere group baby-sitting services; they would be planned to make good any deficiencies the children may have and prevent any others from forming, and to orient the children properly to school and learning. Experimental programs have been conducted along these lines in the country by such people as Koegler and Martin Deutsch, and a much broader program has been implemented in Israel. All reports indicate that such programs do in fact have very marked positive effects.

There is certainly no reason to object on principle, either to the idea of such nursery schools, or to the idea of making them part of the public school system. They would no more violate the prerogatives of the family than do kindergarten and primary school, and, like the latter, would compliment that which the family has to offer, rather than attempt to replace it. Parents concerned with the education of their children should be easily enough led to understand that trained teachers devoting their full attention to the matter are in a better position to prepare their children for primary school than are the parents themselves--particularly when relatively uneducated--who must be occupied with other things much of the time. As for making nursery schools part of the public school system, the effectiveness of both would be increased if they were coordinated. While nursery schools would involve added expense, they would help make up for it by increasing the results that can be produced in the primary and secondary schools by the same expenditure of money and teachers' time and effort. And at any rate, as the remarks of Koegler indicate, expenditures on public nursery schools of the sort in question will be far more productive of results than will increased expenditures on primary and secondary schools in the absence of nursery schools.

There is ample evidence that a public nursery school program for children from age three or so to kindergarten age would receive very good cooperation and support from precisely those groups of parents whose children need it most. It has already been mentioned that migrant parents have relatively high aspirations for their children. Such a program would not place any further financial burden upon them; and therefore if the purpose and potential effects of it were explained to them, it is virtually certain that they would be glad to see their children involved in it. Certainty in this matter is increased by the fact that many migrant parents and parents from other underprivileged groups at present seek out arrangements whereby mothers are freed during the day to work. Day-long public nursery schools would therefore be welcomed by many who at present are compelled to pay for day care for their children if they do not wish to make the further economic sacrifice of staying at home to care for them themselves. Thus, cooperation with the program would be motivated by economic considerations as well as by their educational aspirations for their children. Therefore it would probably be unnecessary to resort to laws to secure the inclusion of the children who need such a program most. A public nursery school program is thus one of the most promising programs that could be implemented to contribute to the increased educational achievement of underprivileged children.

A "Camp School" Program

As has been suggested, however, special problems arise in the case of migrant children which do not arise where other underprivileged children are concerned. One of the most crucial is the migrant pattern of life itself. (The migrants in question here are those who are on the road during at least part of the school year, as well as during the summers.) Migrant life produces chronic discontinuity of educational experience, which is a considerable barrier to satisfactory educational progress. It is even more likely to render ineffective kindergarten and nursery school programs than primary schools, because of the greater importance of child-teacher relationships at the pre-school level. There is only one way to eliminate this harmful discontinuity, and that is by ending the migrant life of the children for the duration of the school year. This is in line with the suggestion of Ginsberg and Bray, that "It is indeed questionable whether the educational problem posed by the children of migrants can be resolved short of a successful attack on the problem of migratory labor itself."[2] To be sure, separation of children from their parents for considerable periods of time may also have negative effects; but these must be weighed against the lifelong disadvantage which comes with an inferior, inadequate education. At any rate, a residential school or "camp school" program is an alternative program which ought to be considered for such children, and perhaps for other underprivileged children as well.

For there are advantages to a camp school program other than its year-long continuity. If it extended from the nursery school level upward, it would be able to do all that nursery schools could in the way of preventing experiential, motivational, habitual and linguistic deficiencies from arising, while fostering healthy attitudes. And it could do so even more effectively, since it would be able to work with children more than merely a part of the day. The importance of the learning and conditioning that goes on in the middle-class home should not be overlooked when considering the preparation of the middle class child for school, and his educational progress as he goes through school. He lives in an atmosphere conducive to educational progress; the underprivileged child does not. This gives the former an advantage that can hardly be eliminated in the case of the latter by anything that can be done during school hours. If the latter lived and went to classes in camp schools, in which a similar atmosphere existed, the otherwise inevitable disadvantage under which he presently labors could be eliminated.

Eliminated also would be much of the discontinuity between underprivileged children's experiences in and out of school. It is not merely the discontinuity itself that has a negative effect on educational progress; perhaps more importantly, where a discontinuity exists, it is usually the world outside of the classroom with which the children most closely identifies, and the values and patterns of behavior of which he adopts. The world from which a child goes into the classroom and into which he returns upon leaving it is the real world to him, whether it is the world of the suburb or the urban slum or the migrant camp. If a discontinuity between them exists, it is school and its activities and values that suffer, appearing unreal, irrelevent, and alien. Camp schools would be in a much better position adequately to educate children from underprivileged homes and to prepare them for social and economic positions beyond the reach of their parents, than is the existing public school sytem, even were it to incorporate into its program a nursery school program of the type discussed above. They would be able to provide an atmosphere and a range of activities relatively continuous with educational activity and conducive to it. They would not be in the unhappy position of public schools at all levels of having to attempt to combat the effects of an outside world, discontinuous and indifferent at best and hostile at worst to their program.

A camp school program would have the further advantage over the other programs of being able to provide underprivileged children with an educated reference group and male and female role models, which are lacking in their home communities. The importance of reference groups and role models in the formation of attitudes, the acquisition of motives, the learning of behavior patterns, and the assumption of roles is universally acknowledged by social scientists. However, its practical implications have yet to be implemented adequately in educational programs focusing upon underprivileged children; and it may be that it is possible to do so only in a camp school program. Children generally take as their reference groups and role models figures with whom they associate outside of the school, in the slum or migrant camp in which they live; it is from them that reference groups and role models will be selected. As long as this continues to happen, the school must fight an uphill, if not a losing, battle in attempting to educate children in preparation for a level social and economic life above that of their parents. It may be that only in a camp school, in which children would live more of the time than in their homes, can this most fundamental barrier to such preparation be removed.

In short, the narrower argument for camp schools--in case of migrant children whose parents are on the road during the school year--is that only they can eliminate the disruptiveness so harmful to educational progress. The broader argument--in the case of underprivileged children generally--is that in order to prepare such children to assume essentially middle-class social and economic roles and thereby to escape the predicament of their parents, a program must be designed which is more far-reaching than that designed for children of middle-class parents, namely, the public school system; in effect, it must enculturate them to a sub-culture different from that of their parents. To do this during school hours alone, even supplementing the existing public school system with a nursery school program, would seem at best to be difficult indeed, because of the overwhelming importance in the development of the child of his experiences and associations outside of the classroom. A full-time program, rather than a less than half-time program of the type provided by existing schools, would seem to be necessary.

Further, since it is much more difficult to enculturate a child to a particular sub-culture than to acculturate him after he has already been enculturated to another--in other words, because the years from three to six or seven are such critical ones, as has been suggested in the discussion of a nursery school program--it would seem to follow that children should be enrolled in camp schools from the age of three or four, if the chances of success of the camp school program are to be maximized.

Camp schools would not need to become permanent institutions, for hopefully they would not be necessary for the children of those who had gone through them anymore than they are for middle class children. They would serve a temporary though important function: gradually to eliminate the underprivileged as such from our society. Once again, it is difficult to see how any less far-reaching program will be able to accomplish this end in the foreseeable future. The existing public school system seems to be making little progress toward it, in spite of increased expenditures. To modify it by incorporating a nursery school program in it, would no doubt improve the situation, though only time will be able to tell to what extent. It may be suspected, however, that it will fail far short of complete success, and that only a camp school program could be expected to achieve something even approaching that.

The camp school idea is not new and untried; something quite like it has been put into practice on a broad scale for some time, in the Israeli Kibbutz. It has been found to be quite successful, and much could be learned, by those considering a camp school program and concerned with implementing one, by studying the Israeli experience. This, of course, is not to suggest that camp schools should be copies of Kibbutzim. Details, such as how often and for what periods children would stay with their parents, have been purposely omitted, for the purpose of this proposal is simply to present the general idea of camp schools for consideration. To be effective, they would have to be publicly financed, and children would have to be enrolled in them quite early: this much should be obvious, and can be remarked at once. Beyond this and the general description of their nature and purpose one need not go at present.

The question of course arises of what the attitude of parents of underprivileged children toward a camp school program would be. No problem would exist in the case of children in the custody of welfare agencies--who are among the most needful of this program. The problem would probably be minor in those cases where underprivileged children have been taken in by relatives since in many cases this has been done simply because no alternative acceptable to the relatives exists. It would also seem that, with proper educational effort,many parents of underprivileged children could be persuaded to cooperate with a camp school program. In the case of migrant parents, if they understood that such a program offered a real chance for the educational and occupational aspirations they have for their children to be realized, they might well be quite willing to support it. They would not only be motivated by these considerations, but also by economic ones. At least until the children are 10 or 12 years old, they constitute a considerable financial burden, for they must be fed, sheltered and clothed, but are unable to contribute substantially to their upkeep. If the children were in camp schools, this burden would be removed, and the parents would have the further comfort of knowing that their children were being well educated and cared for. Camp schools would offer the children much that the parents could not; and this, in addition to an easing of their financial difficulties, might go far toward securing the parents' cooperation.

It would seem that similar considerations might prompt the cooperation of other parents of underprivileged children as well. If they were able to see their children frequently, the long separation would not perhaps constitute too great a problem. In cases of recalcitance, criteria could be developed and applied by legal authorities which would insure that the children's present and future well-being would best be served, either by remaining with their parents or by being enrolled in camp schools; this would merely mean an extension of existing regulations designed to secure child welfare. But indications are that a camp school program would have the cooperation of many parents whose children could best profit by it, and would be able to be run on a largely voluntary basis.

Thus, while it would require more than a mere modification and extension of the existing public school system, the institution of a widespread camp school program ought to receive thorough consideration. It holds out what may be the best hope of eliminating chronic underprivilege from our society, thus eliminating the tragic waste of potential in so uncomfortably large a fraction of our population. It would require considerable expenditures; yet it would result in savings over the long run because of both the reduction of welfare costs that would become possible and also the increased economic productivity of the children in question when they reached adulthood. But as in the case of other programs suggested, benefit to the individuals concerned should be the guiding consideraton; and the benefit underprivileged children would derive from a camp school program would far outweight its cost.

The Need for Financial Assistance

As long as no such program is effected and education remains centered around the existing public school program, some measures will have to be taken in the case of those older underprivileged children--including most older migrant children--for whom economic difficulties and ready employment opportunities combine to motivate widespread dropping out of school in order to work. Few attend school past the age of 16, and many leave two and even four years earlier. It is not enough for children to prefer to attend school, and for their parents to want them to attend, all else being equal; for all else is not equal for migrant families. As long as education involves considerable financial sacrifice--such as the loss of the earning power of teen-aged children--it will not be sought too frequently. It is no solution merely to enforce truancy laws more rigidly, for this would not solve the problem engendering early dropping out; nor, by the same token, would passing laws requiring the completion of high school, or extending the age of mandatory attendance to 18, solve the problem. Some program must be developed to reduce the economic motivation to leave school.

This is demanded by considerations of fairness. It is contrary to the philosophy of universal public education that some should be required to make considerable financial sacrifices in order to take advantage of it, while others--and particularly, others more comfortably situated--are not. Yet this is the situation at present. Middle-class families, who are able to live comfortably on the earnings of the parents, are not forced to sacrifice basic necessities or even luxuries in order for their children to be able to attend high school rather than find employment. But such sacrifice is necessary on the part of the migrant families if their children are to attend. They cannot afford to consider long-range gains and losses; immediate needs are too pressing. If migrant children are to be able to take advantage of educational opportunities to the same extent middle-class children are--which amounts to saying, if they are to have comparable educational opportunities--the sacrifice they are presently called upon to make must be eliminated, or at least considerably reduced.

A "Study Subsidy" Program

This could be done, as was suggested above, either through stabilizing and extending the employment opportunities of heads of families, or through a program of family allowances, with increased allowances for older children. Another alternative, however, and one which would better secure the school attendance of the children in question, while at the same time serving to replace lost income more directly and completely, would be the institution of a "study subsidy" program, with funds provided by the government. The child--or the family--would be paid a certain amount provided that he did not work, but rather attended school. The program could be designed in any number of ways. For example, it could either provide for full time attendance, or it could be modified into a work-study program, in which school was attended only half-time. (The latter, however, while less expensive, would postpone completion of high school for a prohibitive length of time.) Payments could be equivalent to the estimated amount that work would earn, or they could consist of some portion of that amount. Provision might well be made for the time spent studying outside of school hours (which could be measured if done in study halls or centers), and perhaps even for a certain amount of school-related extra-curricular activities, the importance of which in the development of the child is now widely recognized. Experimental programs would determine the kind of program and what kind of program is productive of the desired results while yet most economical.

Of course, something would have to be done to insure more than mere physical presence. Nothing can be done by the school if children do not come, but they must do more than present themselves daily if educational progress is to be made. However, the subsidy provides a lever which, at least in certain cases, might be used to combat continual inattentiveness, uncooperativeness, failure to put forth any effort, and the like. But this too could be worked out in the course of the implementation of a study subsidy program.

The main direct value of such a program would be that it would enable children who had gotten off to a good start through the successful operation of other programs, such as nursery school and kindergarten programs and improved primary school programs, to continue their education through the secondary school level. It would be a mistake to think that a study subsidy program by itself could produce a great deal more than the attendance of older migrant children. A good deal must be done before they become old enough to come under such a program if they are to have made sufficient educational progress to take full advantage of the high school attendance that this program is designed to encourage and make possible.

However, the existence of a study subsidy program might have a considerable indirect effect on younger children and their parents. It was suggested above that the parents expectations of what is possible for their childer must not fall too far below their aspirations for them if their aspirations are to be constructively utilized in securing the cooperation and support of the parents with respect to nursery school, kindergarten, and primary school programs. At present their expectations for their children are low, in good part because of their awareness that financial pressures may force their children to leave school and work long before they can complete high school. If a study subsidy program existed, designed to cope with this problem, it might serve to modify considerably their views on what would be practically possible, and to raise their expectations for their children. They would thus be motivated to support other programs actively, and to encourage their children to do well in primary school. Knowledge of the existence of such a program would also encourage the children themselves to do well as they grow older, by raising their expectations for themselves. The importance of expectations corresponding fairly closely to aspirations if aspirations are to serve as a genuine motivating force, whether on the part of parents or of children, can hardly be stressed enough. A study subsidy program would go far toward making a complete secondary school education a real possibility for migrant children. This would have a considerable effect upon the attitudes of them and their parents, as well as upon the actual course of action to be decided upon when they reach the age at which they presently drop out of school in order to work.

Summary

Thus two basic broad programs have been suggested to provide underprivileged children generally, and migrant children in particular, with the education they need in order to be able to achieve a more satisfactory social and economic position than that which their parents occupy, and which they will occupy as well if no such programs are implemented. One is based upon the modification and extension of the existing public school system, and involves expanded use of kindergartens, introduction of nursery schools, improvement of primary and secondary schools, introduction of a study subsidy program where financial difficulties are causing drop outs, and possibly direct improvement of the families' financial situation through family allowances or wage increases. The other consists of a residential or camp school program for children from nursery school through high school. The former has the advantage of remaining within the general limits of existing social institutions and practices; the latter has the advantage of greater promise of achievement of the goal of education and integration into society of underprivileged children.

Some broad program, whether one of these or another, must be developed to cope with the problem posed by the existence of such children, in migrant camps, and in urban slums and depressed areas. The merits of various possible programs must be debated, and it has been the purpose here to encourage and contribute to this debate. It must not obscure the pressing need for action, however; for the longer action is postponed, the more underprivileged children are condemned to lead the lives of their parents.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shirley E. Greene, United States, Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association, Education of Migrant Children, 1954, p. 115.

2. Douglas Bray and Eli Ginzberg, The Uneducated (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 178.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. AN EXERCISE IN FINDING LOST CHILDREN

APPENDIX A

AN EXERCISE IN FINDING LOST CHILDREN

Teachers who deal with migrant children outside of their home base must always face the difficult problem of evaluating their pupils abilities and achievement in a short period of time. Their difficulties are complicated by the fact that in the majority of the cases the teacher has no records of the migrant child's previous school attendance.

Principals of northern schools who have migrants for some part of the year mention the absence of health records as a particularly difficult problem. The parents of the regular students are afraid of the migrants bringing some sort of dangerous disease into the school system, and to allay their fears the schools must be sure that the children have had all their shots and immunizations. Because of the lack of health records much valuable time is lost, in duplicating health programs already completed. If there were some inexpensive and easy method of insuring school and health record transfer many problems would be eased.

Using our sample, an exercise was conducted in following the schooling in the winter of 1963-1964 of the migrant child. The results would seem to indicate that record transfer for the migrants in New Jersey might not be as great a problem as previously thought.to be.

Finding Migrant Children

In an attempt to assess the difficulty in determining the next school the pupil would attend one hundred and four students in the four summer schools were asked where they would be going to school the following winter. Seventy-one per cent of the pupils were able to name a school or town.

Requests were sent for enrollment information to the school the child had named as his winter school or which his records indicated. For almost all the cases, (82%), the school queried was the one mentioned by the child himself or was in the town given by the child as his probable winter place of schooling. In 8% of the cases the school questioned was the one named by the child as the one he had attended the previous winter, or the school mentioned by a brother or sister. The remaining 10% of the cases were searched by examining school records for the previous winter school attended. Using only these methods 64 per cent of the children were located in their winter schools.

Statistical Differences in One of the Schools

In respect to this exercise one of the schools showed a significant statistical difference from the other three. The students of the Deerfield school, though outwardly a population of migrant Negroes identical to that of the Cranbury and Cedarville schools, were not able to indicate a winter school as often as the students of the other two. Forty-six per cent of the children at Deerfield named a winter school or town, while the percentages were as high as 92 per cent and

91 per cent for Cranbury and Cedarville. The students of the Woodstown school, almost all Puerto Ricans from Florida who spoke only Spanish or poor English, were able to name a town or school in almost three-fourths of the cases. The differences in the case of the Deerfield school are brought out in Table A-1 which shows the percentage of children from each school who were located in their winter school.

TABLE A-1

PER CENT PUPILS LOCATED IN WINTER SCHOOL BY N.J. SCHOOL

New Jersey School	% of Respondents in school indicated in '63 by school records or pupil information.	% of Respondents who could be located by their pupil information
Cedarville	73%	67%
Cranbury	89%	80%
Deerfield	50%	15%
Woodstown	61%	57%

These differences in the schools are not a factor of age distribution as is shown in Table A-2.

TABLE A-2

PER CENT PUPILS LOCATED IN WINTER SCHOOL BY AGE AND BY N.J. SCHOOL

New Jersey School	% of Children 10 & over in the school population	% of Children 10 & over who indicated correct school
Cedarville	64%	69%
Cranbury	39%	55%
Deerfield	55%	19%
Woodstown	43%	75%

The reasons for the failure of many children at Deerfield, to name a winter school, cannot be given with the information covered here. However, some observations may be made. Forty per cent of the Deerfield children came from the Pizzo-Nixon Avenue camp, which was new in the summer of '62 and from the Pizzo-Shiloh camp, which was with a new crew leader and new people that summer. All of the Pizzo-Nixon camp and Pizzo-Shiloh camp children were new in the New Jersey schools in the summer of 1963. The new Pizzo-Nixon camp also had a reputation for drunkenness and wildness. However, the Cedarville school drew 70% of its population from three camps: Level Acres, Maple Run, Sorantino. These camps had many of the same people both years and seemed much more orderly than Pizzo-Nixon.

If the pupils from the Deerfield School are removed from the sample fully 79 per cent of the students were located using the methods previously described. Relying only on the information supplied by the children themselves 69 per cent of this sample could be found in their winter schools. Questioning the parents would have probably produced better results than the already exceptionally good ones obtained with only the information provided by the children.

Florida Sending Schools

Twenty-seven schools were investigated but only ten of them enroll two or more children from the summer school migrant population.

TABLE A-3

NUMBER OF WINTER SCHOOLS AND TOWNS SENDING PUPILS BY N.J. SCHOOLS

New Jersey Schools	Number of schools sending children		Number of towns sending children	
	2 or more only	Total	2 or more only	Total
Cedarville	5	7	4	5
Cranbury	4	5	4	5
Deerfield	2	6	2	4
Woodstown	2	2	2	2

Another interesting point is the percentage of children who name these 10 schools and are later found to be there.

TABLE A-4

PER CENT PUPILS IN ATTENDANCE AT WINTER SCHOOLS NAMED BY N.J. SCHOOLS

New Jersey Schools	% who attended schools named as winter schools
Cedarville's 5 schools	80%
Cranbury's 4 schools	77%
Deerfield's 2 schools	60%
Woodstown's 2 schools	58%

Because of incomplete information on the enrollment of these 10 schools it is not known exactly how many students come from them to New Jersey summer schools. However counting only the students who are known to be enrolled in these 10 schools, it is clear that they alone send close to half of New Jersey's summer school pupils. It would therefore seem adivsable that a liason be arranged between these schools and the New Jersey summer schools. The case is particularly strong for Cedarville where 72% of its student body come from the 5 schools sending 2 or more, and for Cranbury where the 4 schools send 57% of their students. These percentages would probably be higher if all the enrollment facts were known. A system for the transfer of school records between the schools and the major senders would be particularly helpful.

All but one of the ten top senders, however, took 2 weeks or more to answer requests for information. Lake Shore with the largest number of New Jersey migrants took 4 weeks. If record transfer took that long for the summer schools they would be receiving their students' records in the 3rd week of a 6 week session, or after half the session was over. If arrangements for the transfer of records were made before the school opened, each school would only find it necessary to contact at the most five Florida schools to obtain information on the majority of their future students.*

TABLE A-5

LENGTH OF TIME BETWEEN REQUESTS SENT TO FLORIDA SCHOOLS AND REPLIES

Length of time between request & reply	No. of Schools & Per Cent (N=27)	
	Number	Per Cent
Less than 8 days	5	18%
8-14 days	8	30%
15-21 days	6	22%

* Cf Chapter XI, "Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility".

TABLE A-5 (cont.)

	Number	PerCent
22-28 days	2	8%
More than 28 days	3	11%
No reply	3	11%
		100%

Addenda: The reliability of information gained from the students themselves regarding the town or institution where they will attend school during the winter does not show much relationship to sex or age.

TABLE A-6

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL INDICATED BY THEM

	Boys	Girls
Cedarville	78%	56%
Cranbury	57%	75%
Deerfield	19%	15%
Woodstown	43%	57%

Average for all Schools:

Boys: 45%
Girls: 52%

N=105

TABLE A-7

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL INDICATED BY AGE

	Percentage in School Indicated (N=105)
Children 10 and over	53%
Children under 10	50%

APPENDIX B. THE MEASURE OF PERFORMANCE

APPENDIX B

THE MEASURE OF PERFORMANCE

This study was undertaken to discover the social factors related to the school performance and educational prospects of migrant children. Efforts to evaluate the school performance of children was complicated by two factors. First, many students were enrolled at their home base school in a grade that was higher than the grade level at which they were performing. This fact made grade level an unreliable measure of performance. Second, there were too few students performing at levels normal for their age to carry on an analysis comparing this group with those students who were retarded.

To circumvent the first of these difficulties the decision was made to use reading level as established by the teachers in the New Jersey summer schools to indicate level of academic performance. A number of considerations prompted this decision. Reading is one of the most fundamental academic skills taught in elementary school and for this reason is a particularly appropriate measure of academic progress. In addition, progress in the development of this skill has been well standardized into grade levels. Finally, a concerted effort was made by the teachers in the New Jersey summer schools to place children at their proper reading level. Since much of the academic work in the schools centered around reading, they were able to evaluate students' reading performance on the basis of considerable observation over a period of several weeks. In making evaluations of reading level teachers used standard graded reading materials.

A check on teachers' evaluations of students' reading levels was conducted using the scores obtained from Gates Reading Tests.* The results obtained by the two evaluation procedures were very similar. Discrepancies were resolved by adopting teachers' evaluations. Where Gates scores were available and teacher's evaluations were not, students were assigned the reading level indicated by the Gates score.

The problem of establishing a criterion for retardation in reading level was a particularly difficult one. It was finally decided to handle this problem by developing a measure of reading level internal to the sample of students in the study. The measure was constructed by setting up a frequency distribution of students by age and reading level. The frequency distribution was then dichotomized using two criteria. First, at each age, students who were reading at the grade level above the median grade for their age were assigned to a reading group labeled "high". The remainder were assigned to a group labeled "low". Second, if the use of the first criterion resulted in older students being assigned to the "high" performance category who were reading at a lower grade level than younger students assigned to the "high" category, the cutting point used with the younger students was applied to the older. This second criterion had to be invoked only once. This instance was in the Puerto Rican sample which had very few cases. The dichotomization into "high" and "low" reading levels was carried out separately for Negro and

---

Cf: Chapter V, "Intelligence and Academic Performance, Part II"

Puerto Rican students because of the language difficulty facing Puerto Rican students. The results of the dichotomization procedure were the same for both groups. "High" and "low" designations were thus assigned to students without reference to ethnic background. There were 57 students in the "high" reading level category and 99 students in the "low" category (Tables I and 2). The cutting points used to dichotomize the students are indicated in the table by a dark line. No information on reading level was available for 22 students.

TABLE B-1

READING LEVEL BY AGE (NEGROES)

Negro	Age									
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	(15-16)	DK
Reading Grade										
Reading Readiness		4	4							8
Pre-primer		2	1	3			"Low"reading level			6
Primer		5	-	-	1					6
Grade: 1	1	6	4	5	7	1				24
2		3	3	8	1	1		2		18
3		1	2	5	4	5			1	18
4		1	2	2	5	-	2		1	13
5		-	-	1	4	6	1	1		13
6		"High" reading level				1		2		3
Total	1	22	16	24	22	14	3	5	2	109
No Information	2		2	4	3	1	1	1	-	14
Grand Total	3	22	18	28	25	15	4	6	2	123
Number of Students in										
"Low" reading level	-	11	9	16	13	7	2	3	2	63
"High" reading level	1	11	7	8	9	7	1	2	0	46

TABLE B-2

READING LEVEL BY AGE (PUERTO RICANS)

Puerto Rican	Age									
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	(15-16)	Total
Reading Grade										
Reading Readiness		3								3
Pre-primer		3	4	-		"Low" reading level			2	9
Primer		2	3	-	3					8
Grade: 1	1			2	1					4
2			-	-	1					1
3			2	-	1	2		1		6
4	"High" reading level			1		1		-		2
5				-		2		1		3
6						-		1		1
Total	1	8	9	3	6	5		3	2	37
No Information	-	-	-	1	3	-	2	2	-	8
Grand Total	1	8	9	4	9	5	2	5	2	45

Number of Students in	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	(15-16)	Total
"Low" reading level	0	6	7	2	4	3	0	2	2	26
"High" reading level	1	2	2	1	2	2	0	1	-	11

This measure of performance indicates students who were reading better for their age than the majority of students in this sample. Their reading performance is high relative to the other students in the New Jersey summer school for migrant children during 1962 and 1963. As examination of Tables 1 and 2 shows, a "high" reading level does not necessarily mean that a student is reading at a level which is normal or better for his age.

APPENDIX C. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

APPENDIX C

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine the social factors affecting the elementary school performance and educational mobility of children of migratory agricultural workers. In the analysis of school performance attention is focused on the way previous educational experiences, the family, and work history are related to the academic level at which students are performing.

The analysis of factors affecting educational mobility is more wide ranging. In addition to the child's immediate experiences at school, in the home, and in the fields, attention is paid to larger units in the social structure. In particular, the influence of the social life and attitudes within the migrant community, the character and organization of farm labor, the permissiveness of government on the educational prospects of migrant children is examined.

The Samples Interviewed with Each Instrument

The main sample in this study consists of students in the New Jersey summer schools for the children of migratory agricultural workers during the summers of 1962 and 1963 and their mothers. The children were interviewed twice; once with the "Children's Questionnaire" and once with the "1963 Supplement."* Mothers were interviewed once with the "Parent's Questionnaire". A sub-sample of mothers were also interviewed with the "Work Questionnaire" in the summer of 1964.

Fifty-eight women and 2 men were interviewed with the "Family Relationships Questionnaire" in 1962 and 1963. This sample was chosen to represent families with children in the school as well as families without children. For this reason there was about a sixty per cent overlap between the sample of women interviewed with the "Parents' Questionnaire" and those interviewed with the "Family Relationships Questionnaire." Information from this sample is used in the analysis in Chapter III, The Migrant Family, with the exception of the last section of the chapter.

The teachers and teaching principals who taught the primary, intermediate, and senior groups in each of the schools during 1962 were interviewed with the "Teacher's Schedule." Two kindergarten teachers who had many years of experience with migrant children were also interviewed, making the total number of interviews used in analysis eleven. Chapter VIII, The Teacher Views the Migrant Child, is an analysis of the teacher's responses. In 1963 a short interview was conducted with new teachers as well as the principals at the Deerfield and Cedarville schools. Data from these interviews is

*Cf. Appendix D: "Questionnaires"

utilized in Chapter XI, Educational Prerequisites for Social Mobility, but is not incorporated in the tabulations on which much of the analysis in Chapter VIII is based.

All of the interviews conducted with teachers in 1962 were taped as well as several of the interviews in 1963. A number of the children's interviews were also taped. The tapes include interviews using both of the children's schedules. In addition a few of the interviews with mothers using the "Parent Questionnaire" were placed on tape. Field conditions made it difficult to record more of the mother's interviews.

The Children's Sample

The children's sample is drawn from students in the New Jersey summer schools for migrant children during 1962 and 1963. Originally it was planned to obtain a 50% sample of the students in the summer schools, but it was necessary to modify this procedure when it was discovered that a sizable proportion of the children in the school were under seven years of age. Consultation with various members of the faculty at Rutgers University who had previous experience in interviewing children led to the conclusion that no attempt should be made to interview children who were under eight years of age. The sample was changed to include all children eight years of age or over attending the summer schools during 1962 and 1963.

Over the two year period one hundred and sixty-nine students were interviewd with the "Children's Questionnaire". One of these interviews was incomplete, however, so that for some analyses the total sample of students is 168.

In 1963 a total of 106 students were inteviewed with the "1963 Supplement". Two of these interviews, however, were unusable except in a very limited way. Five students were interviewed with the supplement who were not interviewed with the children's interview. The toal number of students interviewed with either or both schedules is 174.

The sample of children represents all of the children who attended during most of the migrant summer school sessions in New Jersey who were eight years of age or over. A few exceptional children seven years of age were also included in the sample. The sample also includes a few students who did not attend the summer school regularly but who did come frequently enough to be worked into the interviewing schedule.

The Mother's Sample

The 168 children with whom complete interviews using the "Children's Questionnaire" were conducted came from 115 families. The mother or a mother surrogate was interviewed in 99 of these families. The mother was interviewed in 92 cases, the grandmother in 5 cases, and some other female relative in 2 cases. The number of children whose mother or mother surrogate was interviewed is 140. No mothers refused to be interviewed. The ones not interviewed left New Jersey before they were contac ed by an interviewer.

In 1964 eighteen mothers who had sent their children to either the Deerfield or Cedarville school in 1963 and sent them again in 1964 were given the "Work Questionnaire." This questionnaire was designed to get basic information about the general economic productivity of adults and adolescents. The responses to this questionnaire were consistent with data obtained from observation, informal discussion, and a review of the literature. Responses to the "Work Questionnaire" are used in the analysis in Chapter X, The Economic Barriers to the Continuance of Education.

Some Comments on Interviewing Culturally Deprived Children.

Each of the children in this study was interviewed twice in private for approximately one hour. As a rule the children did not have much verbal facility, in addition to which most were shy and apprehensive. The staff developed and number of procedures to help in handling this difficult interviewing situation. First, every effort was made to put the children at ease. Usually this took the form of engaging them in light conversation or letting them listen to their voices on the tape recorder that was usually in the room. (None of the children showed the slightest hesitation about having their interviews taped.)

During the interview the children were allowed to set the pace. They usually had little difficulty answering forced choice questions. Whenever they were asked open ended questions, however, they often had great difficulty in expressing themselves. They were obviously not used to discussing with adults many of the topics covered in the interviews. Many of them attempted to cover up their embarrassment and confusion by initially giving a don't know response. The interviewers soon discovered, however, that if they told the children to think about the question a little and expressed confidence in the children's ability to answer it, the children were often able to reply. On the other hand, caution had to be exercised to prevent forcing answers from children who were, in fact, unable to answer. Skill in the use of this technique developed very quickly.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the interviews with the children was that almost all the children were able to sustain an hour interview. It had been hoped that several shorter interviews could be conducted rather than one long interview, but this procedure would have disrupted the children too much.

In order to ease the burden the interview placed on the children they were given a dixie cup of ice cream at about the mid-point in the hour. (The interviewer at one school gave the children a book instead and spent a few minutes showing it to the child.) These devices proved very useful, both in providing a break in the interview and in relaxing the children.

It had been feared that the children would attempt to avoid the interviews because they were long and interfered with their normal school activities. Sometimes this activity was recess or a motion picture. To the surprise of everyone, the children almost never objectedto being taken out of class for the interview. Even more surprising was the out-going friendliness many children displayed toward their interviewer when they saw him about the school after the interview had been completed. The change in manner compared with their previous reticence was remarkable . Although this behavior was mystifying for a time, it became apparent that the children considered the interview a real accomplishment. As is the usual procedure, each interviewer ended the session by thanking the child warmly and tellingg him how helpful he had been. The children apparently recognized the interview as a difficult undertaking in which they had been emminently successful. As a consequence they felt a close rapport with their partner in this success. They expressed this rapport in an open, almost aggressive friendliness. The relationship that developed between the interviewers and the children of the basis of this interpretation of the first interviewing experience made the interview with the "Supplement" much easier. In fact, it is very possible that the intimate data sought in this interview could not have been obtained from the children without the prior experience. There is no doubt that the children were much freer in discussing their lives during the second session.

On the basis of the experience in this study a series of interviews with children rather than one long interview is strongly recommended. Children should be made fully aware of the important help they are giving the interviewer and should be sincerely praised for the way they conduct themselves during the interviews. The first interviews should be concerned with topics that children can handle easily. Difficult topics would probably be best introduced early in the series, however, when the child's new found sense of accomplishment is running high.

Question Form

Although "yes" and "no" responses are usually considered bad form in questionnaires, they were utilized in both the "Parent's" and "Children's" questionnaires. This form was used because it was believed the respondents would find such questions easier to answer. In light of the experience in this study, however, "yes" and "no" responses would not be recommended. On the other hand, a normal set of forced choice alternatives based on a knowledge of the dimensions in which answers can be expected to be made are probably preferable to open ended questions for many purposes. The use of many open ended questions in the questionnaires employed in this study reflects, in great part, the exploratory nature of the study.

APPENDIX D. QUESTIONNAIRES

Schedule No.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY

FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Name: ______________________________

Farm: ______________________________

Date: ______________

Interview started: ______________________

Interview completed: ____________________

Interviewer: ________________________

Comments:

I would greatly appreciate it Mr(s) ______________ if you would be good enough to answer a few questions which would help us very much to understand your children and their schooling better.

1. Would you be good enough to tell me who the present members of your household are?

(Interviewer: Please record name and age of each member of the household)

Father______________________________

Mother______________________________

Children under 16

____

Other relatives, and relationship of each:

____

Non-relatives:

____

If respondent is female, ask:

2. Would you tell me how many children you have given birth to?

2a. Where did each of these births take place?

Birth	Hospital	At Home	Other
1.			
2.			
3.			

2b. Who delivered the baby at each of these births?

Birth	Person assisting
1.	______________
2.	______________

2c. How many of these children are now living?

3. Do you have other children who are not with you here in New Jersey?

Yes ______ No ______

If yes, to 3, ask:

3a. Who are they?

Name	Age	Residence	Occupation
____	___	_________	__________

3b. Are you in touch with them?

Yes _____ No_______

If yes: Do you keep in touch by any of the following ways

3c. Visiting Yes______ NO______

3d. If yes to 3c: How many times a year? __________

3e. How long a visit? ______________

3f. Do you go to them? Yes_____ No_____

Do they come to you? Yes_____ No_____

3g. If no to 3c: Why do you not visit each other?

3h. Writing letters Yes ______ No______

3i. If yes: How often do you write each other?

3j. If no: Why do you not write each other?

3k. Other means (Interviewer please specify)

If No to 3b

3l. Why are you not in touch with them at all?

4. Where is your home-base residence?

4a. How long have you lived there?

4b. How many months a year do you spend there?

4c. Do you feel at home there?
Yes _____ No_____

4d. Why do you feel that way?

4e. How many friends do you have there?
none______
a few______
many______
other______

4f. Where do you like it better?
Here in New Jersey____________
Your hometown____________
Other____________

4g. Why do you feel that way?

5. Whom are you living with here at this camp?
(Interviewer: this refers to present mate of respondent)

5a. How long have you been living together?

5b. Were you married by a
minister________
judge________
neither________
other________

If respondent is living without mate at present:

6. Why are you living alone now?
mate deceased ____________
separated ____________
divorced ____________
other reasons ____________

If respondent is separated or divorced:

6a. How many times have you been (separated) (divorced)?

6b. Would you give me the date of each (separation) (divorce) and your age at the time?

(Separation-Divorce)	Date	Age
____________	____	____

6c. How long did you live together before (separating) (divorcing)?

	Separation-Divorce	No. of Years
1.	____________	________
2.	____________	________

6d. How long did you live alone after each (separation) (divorce)?

Separation-Divorce	Length of time
____________	____________

6e. If respondent is a woman:
Does your former husband (husbands) help support you or your children now?
Yes ______ No ______

6f. If yes, what does he give you or your children?
Amount per week ____
month ____
year ____
Given to Mother ____ children ______

7. How long did you know your (husband) (wife) before marrying?

Mate No.	Length of time
1	____________
2	____________

7a. How did you happen to choose your (husband) (wife) to marry? (Probe for attraction, liking, interests, etc.)
Mate No. 1 ________________________
Mate No. 2 ________________________

8. Most marriages, as you know, have their ups and downs. How do you consider your marriage? Would you say it is
very happy ________
happy ____________
rather unhappy ______
very unhappy ________

8. (cont.)
(Interviewer: "Average" may be accepted if respondent does not select any of the above choices)

average________

8a. Why do you consider your marriage to be __________________?
(category selected) in 8

____
____

9. I'm sure you'll agree that all husbands and wives quarrel and argue sometimes. Would you say that you and your (husband) (wife) argue

more than most couples you know________________
less than most couples you know________________
about the same as most couples you know_________

9a. What sort of things do you quarrel about most with your (husband) (wife) ?

9b. (Ask about any of the following which have not been mentioned in 9a). Do you ever quarrel about

money ________
children______
neglect_______
drinking______
running around_____
doing this type of work for a living_____

(please check)

9c. Which of the things you have mentioned do you quarrel about most?

9d. Which do you quarrel about least?

9e. While husbands and wives are having quarrels or arguments they sometimes

shout ________
cry___________
appeal to children_____
call in neighbors______
hit each other_________
throw things___________

Which of the above happen during your quarrels?

9f. Do any other things happen when you quarrel?

9g. How do the quarrels or arguments end?

9h. Do any of the following usually happen?

I usually get my way ______
(He) (She) usually gets (his) (her) way ______
Sometimes (he) (she) gives in and sometimes I give in____
Other ______

9i. How satisfied are you with your marriage? Would you say you are

very satisfied ______
somewhat satisfied______
dissatisfied ______

9j. Why are you ______? (Category selected in 9i)

10. Do you know any people in this camp who have ever been separated?

Yes ______ No ______

10a. If yes, who has been separated?

Name

1. ______
2. ______
3. ______

10b. Do you know if any have been actually divorced by a judge in a courthouse?

Yes ______ No______

10c. If yes, who here has been divorced?

Name

1. ______
2. ______
3. ______

10d. Are ______ (names given in 10a and 10c) living with someone else now?

Name	Yes	No
1.		
2.		

10e. As far as you know, do any of these separated or divorced people have children?

Yes ______ No______

10f. If yes, where are their children now?

Name	Children with mother	Children elsewhere specify
1.		

(Interviewer: Please get information for each of names mentioned in 10a and 10c.)

11. Do you have any friends here in New Jersey?
Yes _____ No_____

11a. If yes
Are some here in this camp? Yes_____ No_____
11b. Are some in other camps? Yes_____ No_____

11c. Are some living in this community permanently?
Yes_____ No_____

11d. Which of your friends do you see the most?
This camp ________
Other camp________
Community friends _________

11e. When do you usually see them?

11f. Where do you usually see them?

11g. What do you usually do when you get together?

If respondent has community friends

12. How many friends do you have who live here permanently?

12a. Are any of them people who used to be migrant workers?
Yes _____ No_____

12b. If yes to 12a:

What do they do for a living now?
How long have they lived in this community?
Name of friend Occupation Length of time
1. ____

12c. If no to 12a:
What do these friends do for a living?
How long have they lived in this community?
Name of friend Occupation Length of time
1.____

If respondent has no community friends

13. How many summers have you been coming to New Jersey?
number of summers ________________

13a. Have you ever at any time met any of the people who live in this community permanently?
Yes ______ No______

If yes to 13a:

13b. How often?

13c. What were the circumstances of each meeting? (specify)

1.________________________
2.________________________
3.________________________

13d. Do you feel welcome in this community?
Yes _____ No_____

13e. Why?

13f. Where do you buy your groceries and other necessities?

13g. Do you use any services outside of this camp?
Yes _____ No_____

13h. Can you tell me what ones you have used?

(Interviewer: If respondent has not mentioned the following services, ask about each of them)

13i. Do any of your children attend school here?
Summer school - Yes ______ How many children_____ No_____
Regular school - Yes ______ How many children_____No______

13j. Do you or any members of your family use the public library?
Yes _______ No _______

13k. If yes: How often?

13l. Do you or any members of your family attend church services?
Yes _____ No_____

13m. If yes: Where?
How often?

13n. Do you or any members of your family use the public playground in town?
Yes _____ No_____

13o. If yes: Who uses it?
How often?

13p. Have your or any members of your family ever spoken to a police officer?
Yes_____ No_____

13q. If yes: What were the circumstances?
(Interviewer: please probe to get full details)

13r. Have you ever been in the court house here?
Yes _____ No_____

13s. If yes: What were the circumstances?

14. Do you have a social security number?
Yes_____ No_____

14a. Have you ever received unemployment compensation?
Yes _____ No_____

14b. Are you covered by Workmen's Compensation?
Yes_____ No_____
(Interviewer: Please record if respondent is completely unfamiliar with any of these services.)

15. Has any one in your family been sick in the last year?
Yes _____ No_____

15a. If yes: With what illness? _______________

15b. Has any one in your family been treated by a doctor in the last year?
Yes_____ No_____

15c. If yes, for what illness? _______________

15d. Has any one in your family needed a doctor's care or hospital care in the last year and not received this care?
Yes _____ No_____

15e. If yes, specify why:
lack of money ________
lack of transportation______
doctor too far away________
hospital too far away_______
doctor refused attention_____
hospital refused attention____
other reasons_______________

15f. What was the result of not receiving care?

15g. Do you know anyone who is now sick in this camp?
Yes_____ No_____

15h. If yes, is he receiving medical attention?
Yes_____ No______

15i. If no, do you know why?

15j. What is the age_____and sex_____ of this sick person?

15k. Do you know what the illness is?

15l. If the wage earner takes sick what do you do?
(Probe for details)

16. Has there been a death in your family in the past year?
Yes _____ No_____

16a. If yes, what was the cause of death?

16b. What was age_____ and sex_____ of person who died?

16c. Has there been a death in this camp this summer?
Yes _____ No_____

16d. If yes, what was the cause of death?

What was the age_____and sex_____of the person who died?

17. How far did you go in school?
___________(grade reached in school)

17a. Do you think it has made much difference that you didn't go further in school?
Yes_____ No_____

17b. Why do you think that?

17c. How far would you have liked to go in school?
Complete Grade School __________
Attend High School__________
Complete High School__________
Enter college__________
Other__________

17d. Why would you have like to go that far?

18. How far would you like your children to go in school?

Complete Grade School__________
Attend High School__________
Complete High School__________
Enter college__________
Other__________

18a. Why do you want them to go that far?

19. Would you like your children to follow the seasons when they grow up? Yes ______ No_____

19a. Why?

19b. If no, what work would you like them to do when they are grown up?

Sons	Daughters

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY

PARENTS' SCHEDULE

(Cover Sheet)

Name____

Farm____

School______________________________________

# of call backs____________

Call	Date	Reason for interview not given	Person or persons saw	Initials
1.				
2.				
3.				

Children in School: Interviewed-

	AGE	Yes	No
1.			
2.			
3.			

Date__________________

Interview started________________(am) (pm)

Interview completed________________(am) (pm)

Interviewed by____________________________

Interview Checked by__________________________

Comments:

Are there any other members of the family living with you now besides your husband and children?

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY

Parents' Schedule

1. Hello,____(name)

2. The teachers at (Cranbury, Fairton, Woodstown) school have asked me to help them make the school better. You can help me do this by giving me your honest opinion about some things. I want to know what you really think. No one at the school or here at camp will ever know what you told me; so you can tell me what you really think about things.

3. First, I'd like to know what do you think is the most important thing for your children to get out of school?

3a Which is the most important thing for the schools to teach the children, learning how to read and write or how to behave?

____how to read and write ____how to behave _____both equally important

3b Would you tell me why you think this?

3c From your experience with the summer school here at (Cranbury, Fairton, Woodstown) how good would you say it is? Very good, pretty good, not so good.

_____very good ______pretty good _____not so good

3d Why do you think so?

It's very important to know where_______(name of child or names of children in school) have gone to school since last summer.

4. Could you tell me the name of the first school you sent your children to after you left here last summer? What was the second school, etc? (try to get name and location of each school.)

(probe for each schooL: How long were they in school there?

probe for each school: Do you usually send your children to that school every year?

_______Yes ______No

If NO: How many years have you sent them to that school all told?

SCHOOL	LOCATION	length of stay	#of times sent children
1.________			
2.________			
3.________			

4a Which school is your home base school?

_________(number of school as listed in previous question)

5. Do you think it would be a good idea if school lasted all day from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon rather than running from nine till three the way it does now?

_______Yes ______No

5a Would you tell me why?

6. Would you rate the subjects I'm going to name for you? Tell me which one you think is the most important subject taught in school, the second most important subject, and the third most important subject.

_____learning about history __learning how to do arithmetic

_____learning reading & writing ____learning how to stay healthy

_____learning musicand how to draw

6a What do you think makes_______(first choice) the most important subject?
6b Why do you think___(second choice) is the second most important one?
6c Of all the subjects: history, arithmetic, reading and writing, health, music and art which do you think is the least important?
_____________least important subject
6d Why would you say this subject is least important?
7. Do you think it's important for parents to visit the schoolwhere their children are going? _______Yes ____NO
7a Why do you think it's (important) (not important)?
7b Generally speaking, do you think teachers really want parents to come and visit them at the school here,at (Cranbury, Fairton, Woodstown, Cedarville,Deerfield)
7c Why do you think this is so?
8. What grade do you think a person has to go to in school in order to get enough education to get by? ________grade in school
(Probe if necessary) Making a guess, would you say a person should at least go as far as the-
____third or fourth grade _____eighth grade
____fifth or sixth grade _____higher: what grade_____
8a Why do you think so?
9. Do you think it's more important for a boy or a girl to get a lot of education?
________more important for boy to get a good education
________more important for girl to get a good education
________equally important for both
9a Why would you say it's more important for a (boy) (girl) to get a lot of education? (probe) (Why is it equally important for a boy or a girl to get a lot of education?)
10. Which parent do you think is usually most interested in seeing that their children go to school, the father or the mother?
____father ____mother _____both equally interested
10a (If choose father or mother):
What do you think usually makes the (father) (mother) less interested? (Probe to get replies to both prongs of question)
11. In your opinion is it really important for a person to graduate from high school in order to get a good job?
_______Yes _______No
11a If YES: What do you think are the most important reasons why a person needs a high school education in order to get a good job? (probe)
11b If NO: What do you think is the most important thing for a person to do in order to get a good job? (probe on jobs for males and females. This is important since subjects will be females and we are especially interested in males RE: jobs.)
11c Would you tell me some jobs that have always struck you as being pretty good jobs? (probe on jobs for males and females)

12. Few children of people who follow the crops graduate from high school. Do you think this happens mostly because the children lose interest in school, because parents don't see any use in high school, or because families can't afford to send them to high school?
_____children lose interest in school ____parents don't see any use in high school
_____parents can't afford to send children to high school

12a If indicate children lose interest: Why do you think children lose interest? (Probe, if not volunteered)
A. Do you think getting behind in their school work has anything to do with it?
B. Do you check up on their school work?
12b If indicate parents don't see sense in high school.
Why do you think this happens?
13. When would you say a girl is old enough to get married?
______(age at which girl old enough to get married)
(Probe, if necessary)
Would you say a girl should be at least:
____fourteen or fifteen
____sixteen
____seventeen
_____eighteen
_____over eighteen: How old?_____
13a How old should a boy be before he gets married?
_____(age at which a boy is old enough to marry)
(Probe, if necessary) Do you think a boy should be at least:
_____sixteen
_____seventeen
____eighteen or nineteen
____twenty to twenty-five
____over twenty-five: How old?____
13b If a girl has a chance to get married to a nice boy or to go to high school, which do you think would be the best thing for her to do?
______best for girl to get married
______best for girl to go to high school
13c What are the most important reasons why it's better for a girl to (get married) (go to high school)? (Probe)
14. When do you think is the right age for a boy to stop school and start earning his own keep?
______(age boy should start earning own keep)
(Probe, if necessary)
If you were to figure it out, would you say the right age was about:
_____twelve
_____thirteen
_____fourteen
____fifteen
____sixteen
____seventeen
____eighteen
____over eighteen:
How old?________
15. How do you feel about your children following the crops when they grow up?
(Probe, if necessary)
If they wanted to follow the crops, do you think you would: approve, not feel much one way or the other, feel they were doing the wrong thing.
_________approve
_____not feel much one way or the other
______feel they were doing the wrong thing
15a If parent doesn't approve of children following crops:
What kind of work do you think your children should go into:
(Probe for differences between boys and girls)

I'd like also to know a little bit about you as a parent of (a child) children in the summer school.

16. How many years have you been following the crops north?
____________(number of years)
(Probe, if necessary)
Would you say you've been coming north for:
________Less than five years ________More than ten years
________Five to ten years

16a Does the family always travel together? _____Yes ____No
If NO: What do you do when you don't travel together?

16b Since you left your home base this spring where have you been?
(List locations by state and nearby town, if possible)
(Probe for each: How long did you stay there?)

	STATE	TOWN	LENGTH OF STAY
1.			
2.			
3.			

17. Do you usually come to the____________________(name of farm)
every year? _______Yes ________No

17a If NO:
Do you usually come to this area in New Jersey?
_________Yes _________No

17b If No to 17
Why did you decide to come here this year? (Probe if necessary)
Did you know about the summer school before you came? ____Yes ____No
Did the school have anything to do with your coming here?

17c If YES to 17 or 17a
Why do you usually come back here every year? (Probe! Does the school have anything to do with your coming?)

18. Do you think you'll stick with working the crops until your family is raised? ____Yes ____No (If answer is NO skip to question 18a)

18a If YES to 18:
Why do you think you'll stick to this kind of work? (Probe)

18b If you were to try something else, what do you think you'd try?

18c If NO to 18:
What do you think you'll switch to?

18d When do you think you might make the switch?

19. Did your husband work at something else before he started following the crops? ______Yes ______No (NOTE: Drop this question and 19b if no husband.)

19a If YES: What did he do?

19b How long did he work at _______(occupation)? _____(length of time)
(in years, if possible)

20. What did you do before you started following the crops?
(occupation or other activity)____________________________

20a If Appropriate:
How long did you do__________(activity in 20)

20b How did you happen to start following the crops?

21. If the family got sick or injured and couldn't work and you needed help, what would you do?

21a Why would you (turn to them) (try that) first?

21b If tnings didn't work out, what would you do then?

21c (If not mentioned) would you try and get help from the government?
_______Yes _______No

21d If YES: Who would you see about getting help from the government? (Probe to find agencies to which would turn)

21e If NO: Why not?

21f (If not mentioned yet) How about relatives, would you try to get help from them? _______Yes ______No

21g If YES: Which ones? (list)

21h WHY?

21i If NO: Why not?

22. How much contact do you/(and your husband) have with people in the towns around here?

22a Who are the people you have contact with? (Probe for differences between husband's and wife's contacts)

22b How friendly are they?

23. What kind of things do you like to do on weekends, in the evenings, or when you have some free time?

23a What kind of things does your husband like to do when he has some free time?

23b How do you feel about his spending his time_____(in the way described in 23a). (If more than one leisure pursuit mentioned ask probe for each.)

24. Do you attend any church here abouts? _____Yes ____No (If answer is NO, skip to 24d)

24a If YES: What one do you attend?

24b How did you happen to start going to church here? (probe)

24c How were you welcomed in the church?

24d (If NO to question 24.) Would you be interested in going to church while you are here? ____Yes ____No

24e If YES: What are the main reasons why you don't go. (Probe for whether would feel welcome.)

24f What are the biggest reasons?

25. How far did you go in school? ____(grade reached in school)

25a Do you think it's made much difference that you didn't go further in school? _____Yes ____No

25b Why do you think that? (Probe)

I'd like your opinion about a couple of other things.

26. As a general rule, who would you say is really the boss of the family, the father or the mother?
__________father _______mother _____both equally

26a Why do you think this happens?

27. If there were classes in sewing, and homemaking for the ladies and classes in auto repair and different trades for the men during the evenings and on weekends, do you think the grown-ups around here would go to them? _______Yes ______No

27a (Use (a) as probe if no response, or (b) as follow up to answer) If you had to make a guess, how many ladies around here do you think might go to classes in sewing or homemaking?

Ladies	Men
_______none	_______none
_______only a few	_______only a few
_______maybe ten or so	_______maybe ten or so
_______more than half of them	_______more than half of them
_______most of them	_______most of them
_______(a specific number, if given)	_______(a specific number, if given)

27b How many men do you think might go to classes in auto repair or different trades? (check above)

We need to know a little about your family.

28. How many children do you have, counting both the ones in school and the ones not in school? ______(number of children in family)

Would you tell me their names and ages? (Probe for sex, if necessary)

	NAME	AGE	SEX		NAME	AGE	SEX
1.	________	___	___	3.	________	___	___
2.	________	___	___	4.	________	___	___

28a Are all of them here in New Jersey with you? ____Yes ____No

28b If NO: Who isn't here? (Put check beside name above)

28c Where are they staying? (Probe to see with whom they are staying)

	CITY	STATE	PERSON WITH WHOM STAYING
1.	________	________	________
2.	________	________	________

29. How long have you been married? _____number of years

29a Is this your first marriage?

____Yes ____No (If NO, check on whether answer to question 29 refers to present marriage or all marriages.)

If NO:

29b How many times have you been married? _________(number of times)

29c Were you (always) married by a minister in a religious ceremony or by a judge (justice of the peace, etc.)

____married by a minister ___married by a judge ___neither

30. Roughly speaking, how much would you say your family brings in an average week when you're working steady on the crops? (Probe to be sure listing family income, not just the father's.)

31. All told, how many days do you figure you spend travelling from one job to another, during an average season in the crops?

32. How much time every year do you usually figure on not having any work on the crops? _____(amount of time without work on crops)

32a Do you (or your husband) work at anything else when you aren't in the crops? ____yes ______no

32b If YES: What do you (and or) your husband do?

Type of work wife does______________________________

Type of work husband does______________________________

32c All told how much does your family figure on making during the off season. (Probe for amount, if necessary) __________amount make during off season.

Thank you very much for helping me, I really enjoyed talking to you. (Before leaving talk for a minute or two about the children they have in school).

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY

CHILDRENS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Cover Sheet)

Name of Child______________________________ Age____ Sex______

Mother______________________________ Working: Yes____ No____

Father______________________________ Mother interviewed:
(Date)______________

Guardian______________________________

Farm______________________________

School______________________________

Siblings 8 years of age and over in school

	Name	Age	Interviewed? (Date)
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

Date______________________

Interview started:______________________(am) (pm)

Interview completed:______________________(am) (pm)

Interviewed by______________________ Interview checked by____
____

Comments:

MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY
CHILDRENS' INTERVIEW SCEDULE

1. Hello,______________________________________(name of child)
2. The teachers here want to make (Fairton, Woodstown, Cranbury) School even better than it is. They have asked me to help them. You can help me to do that by answering some **questions** I'm going to ask you. Will you help me?

   _____Yes _____No (If NO, terminate interview for time being.)

   If YES: I'm very pleased,_________________________(name)
3. Did you go to school here at _________________________(local school) last summer? ______Yes ______No

3a If NO: Did you go to school any place last summer?
______Yes _____No

3b If YES to 3a: What was the name of the school, do you remember?
_______________________________(name of school)

3c Where was it located? ______________________________

4 Have you gone to school any place (else) since last summer?

_____Yes _____No (If answer is No, skip to question #5 page 3)

4a If YES: Would you tell me the places where you went to school? (Probe to get all schools attended.)

	School	Location	Grade	Friends at Entrance(check)				
				None	One	Few	Some	Alot
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								

HOW KNOW FRIENDS

			CHECK IF KNEW ANY FROM:	
			Previous Year	Different School
1.	School #1-cont'd.			
2.	School #2-cont'd.			
3.	School #3-cont'd.			
4.	School #4-cont'd.			
5.	School #5-cont'd.			

For each school:

4b. What grade were you in at ____(name of school) last year?

4c. Did you know any of the children in your class at ____(name of school), when you started?

4d. If YES: About how many of the children in the class did you know; most of them, some of them, only a few, only one.

4e Where did you know other children in the class from? (If not volunteered, probe.)
Did you go to school some other place with any of them?
Had you met any of them in _________(name of school) when you went there before?

5. For Everyone:
Of all the places you've gone to school, including here, which school did you like best? ___________local school _________other school: name and location

_____________________ ____________________

5a What was it that made you like ________________ school better?

6. If more than two schools: Which school didn't you like?
___________________local school ___________other school
Name and location_______________________________________

6a. What didn't you like about it?

6b. If only two schools: What didn't you like so much about the other school?

Unless already volunteered:

6c. Were the teachers nicer at______(name of school liked best) or _______ (school liked least)?
_______________Nicer at school liked best ______Nicer at school liked least

6d What was nicer about the teachers at________(name of school liked best-least.)

6e Did you get along with the other children better at__________(school liked best) or____________________(school liked least)?
_________got along better at school liked best
_________got along better at school liked least

6f Why did you get along better with the other children at_______(school liked best-least)?

7. So far, what school work do you like best here at_________this year?

7a What makes you like it best?

7b How much do you like___________(name all school activities in turn)? Do you like it a lot, like it pretty much, not like it very much, or not like it at all?

Like				
A lot	Pretty much	Not very much	Not at all	Activity(select activities to suit class in which student enrolled.)
				Arithmetic
				Reading
				Spelling
				Social Studies

7c If respondent failed to answer 7: Which of these things do you like to do best? ______________________________(activity).

7d So far, what school work is the worst?

7e What is the bad part about it?

8. Are you ever absent from school? __________Yes __________No

8a What's usually the reason you are absent?

9. Do you have any friends going to school here at ________________________ (local school)

_____Yes ______No (If answer is NO, skip to question #10 on page 4)

9a If YES:

Who are they? (Probe to make positive identification) (Probe for each) Is (he) (she) a relative? What is (he) (she)? How long have you known (him) (her)?

	Name	Relationship, if any	Length of friendship (in years if possible)
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

9b Which one is your best friend here at school?

9c Which one is your second best friend here at school?

10. Which of the grown-ups in your family do you think want you to go to school here at (Fairton, Cranbury, Woodstown) the most?

__________Mother _________Father

__________Other adult _________Who?

10a What do you think is the reason_______(adult selected in 10) wants you to go to school here? (probe)

10b Is there any grown-up in your family who doesn't much care for your going to school here? __________Yes _______No

10c If Yes: Why do you think they'd just as soon you didn't go to school here?

10d Ask Everyone except those who have volunteered this information:

Do you think that your parents sometimes feel you should help earn your keep?

11. How old were you when you started school? (Age)____________

12. Besides the books you read in school, do you read other things, such as your own books, or library books, or comic books, or magazines?

____________Yes ___________No

12a If Yes: What things do you read? (Check as many as appropriate) (probe)

_______own books _______comic books

_______library books ________magazines

12b Of all the things you read, what kind of thing do you read the most?

12c How many_______(thing read most) have you read this past week?

12d When was the last time you read:

a book outside of school (last time read)__________________________

a comic book (last time read)__________________________

a magazine (last time read)__________________________

13. When you are at a place where you aren't enrolled in school, what do you generally do during the day?

If info not volunteered, ask questions 13a-13f.

13a Do you ever work on a farm with your parents? _____Yes _____No

13b If Yes: What do you usually do?

13c Do you like doing that kind of work? ______Yes _____No

13d What do (don't) you like about it?

13e Do you ever have to take care of your younger brothers and sisters?
_________Yes _________No

13f How often do you have to take care of your younger brothers and sisters? (Try to get info in terms of number of times per week, if possible)

Ask Everyone:

14. If you could choose between working, taking care of younger brothers and sisters, playing at the camp all day, or going to school here, which would you sooner do?
first choice______________________________

14a Which would be the second best thing to do, working, taking care of your brothers and sisters, playing at the camp all day, or going to school here?
second choice______________________________

14b Which would you sooner not do?

15. Now that you are going to school what do you usually do when you get home from school? (Probe for more than one activity)

15a Would you sooner have school last from 8 o'clock til 5'o clock or would you sooner go home at 3 o'clock like you do now?
__________sooner have school last until 5 o'clock
__________sooner have school end at 3 o'clock & go home

15b If you stayed (had to stay) at school until just before supper, what kind of school work would you like to do best?

15c What would you sooner not do?

16. Do you like moving to different places? ________Yes ________No

16a What (do you) (don't you) like about moving to different places? (probe)

16b If NO to 16: Is there anything you like about moving to different places? (probe for positive responses)

16c If Yes to 16: What is the worst thing about moving to different places?

17. Let's pretend you're sixteen years old. If you were sixteen and could choose between going to school and graduating from high school or going to work, which would you do?
__________Choose graduating from high school
__________Choose going to work

17a Why would you like to (go to work) (stay in school)? (Probe for preferences aside from practical considerations)

17b Do you think your parents will want you to go to work or go to school when you are sixteen years old?
_________Parents want respondent to stay in school
_________Parents want respondent to go to work

17c Would your father or your mother feel more this way?
_______Mother _____Father ______Both Equally

17d Why?

18. What if the family is short of money?

18a How would you say your _______(parent not chosen in 17c) feels about your going to work or staying in school?

19. Not counting what you'd like to do, when you get old enough so you don't have to go to school anymore do you think you'll really stay in school or quit and start to work?
_________stay in school _______quit and work

19a Why will you (stay in school) (quit and start to work)?

19b (If not volunteered ask:) Do you think you might have to quit school and start to work because your family will need the money?

19c After you are out of school and start working all the time, would you like to do the kind of work the grown-ups in your family do now or would you like to do something else?

______________Like to do work parents do
______________Like to do something else

19d If respondent would like to do something else:
What would you like to do?

(Name)______________________________, I'd like your opinion about some things.

20. How many dollars a week do you think a rich man makes?

(Dollars per week)________________

(If necessary to probe repeat alternatives below in ascending order until child picks a figure.)

_____Ten dollars   _____A hundred dollars
_____Thirty dollars   _____Five hundred dollars
_____Fifty dollars   _____A thousand dollars

20a How many dollars a week do you think most fathers and mothers make?

______________(Dollars per week)

(If necessary to probe, repeat in ascending order until child picks a figure.)

_____Ten dollars   ______A hundred dollars
_____Thirty dollars   ______A hundred and twenty-five dollars
_____Fifty dollars
_____Seventy-five dollars   ______A hundred and fifty dollars

20b How many dollars a week do you think you will make when you grow up? (Probe if necessary. Use alternatives to question #20a)

_______________(Dollars per week)

20c Do you think you might be rich when you grow up? ____Yes ____No

20d If Yes: How will you get rich?

20e Do you think you will have as much money as other people or do you think you might have less?

_____Will have as much money as others
_____Might have less money than others

20f WHY?

21. Do you think children you meet who live in one town all the time think they're better than you are, about like you, not as good as you?

_____think better   ______think about the same   _____think not as good

21a Why do you think they feel this way?

22. We've been talking about mothers and fathers. Who do you think is usually the boss in the family, the mother or the father?

_______Mother   ________Father

22a Would you tell me why you think the boss in the family is the (mother) (father)?

23. What about teachers, do you think teachers generally are nice or not very nice?

________Teachers generally nice   _____Teachers generally not so nice

23a Who was the nicest teacher you ever had? (press for an answer)

______________________(Name of nicest teacher)

23b What was (name of nicest teacher)_______like?

24. Do you think teachers usually like you a lot, like you pretty much, only like you a little, don't like you at all?

_____teachers like a lot
_____teachers like pretty much
_____teachers only like a little ____teachers don't like at all

24a How can you tell how much they like you?

24b When you're in a class with children who go to the school all the time, do you think the teachers like you better than the regular children, about the same as the regular children, less than the regular children?

___like better ___like the same _____like less

24c How can you tell?

(Name)______________________, I enjoyed talking to you very much. Before you go, would you tell me:

25. What do you think your parents want you to be when you grow up?

26. If you could be anything you wanted to be when you grow up, what would you like to be?

Very good, (name)________________________________. Thank you for helping me. It was certainly nice talking to you.

When you go home would you please give this note to your mother and tell her someone will be out to talk to her about the school here.

Thank you.

Family Id. 58________
80________

Interview date ______________
Interviewer ______________
Name of Respondent ______________

Farm ____________________

School:

Deerfield ____________(0) $\boxed{4}$
Cranbury ____________(1)
Cedarville ____________(2)
Woodstown ____________(3)

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY
WORK INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Hello, if you remember, I talked to you last year (Perhaps you remember me from last year.) This year I would like to ask you a few questions about how much youngsters make when they work in the fields. It will only take a few minutes.

1. How old does a boy have to be before he starts making as much money in the field as a grownup man? $\boxed{9}$

10_____(0) 12_____(2) 14_____(4) 16_____(6) 18_____(8) Other____(x)
11_____(1) 13_____(3) 15_____(5) 17_____(7) 19_____(9) N.A._____(y)

2. How old does a girl have to be before she starts making as much money in the field as a grownup woman? $\boxed{10}$

10_____(0) 12_____(2) 14_____(4) 16_____(6) 18_____(8) Other____(x)
11_____(1) 13_____(3) 15_____(5) 17_____(7) 19_____(9) N.A._____(y)

3. About what age does a boy start making enough money so it is worthwhile for him to work regularly in the fields? $\boxed{11}$

6_____(0) 8_____(2) 10_____(4) 12_____(6) 14_____(8) Other____(x)
7_____(1) 9_____(3) 11_____(5) 13_____(7) 15_____(9) N.A._____(y)

4. About what age does a girl start making enough money so it is worthwhile for her to work regularly in the fields? $\boxed{12}$

6_____(0) 8_____(2) 10_____(4) 12_____(6) 14_____(8) Other____(x)
7_____(1) 9_____(3) 11_____(5) 13_____(7) 15_____(9) N.A._____(y)

5. Do you have any youngsters old enough so that they work in the fields once in a while?

How many girls? $\boxed{14}$	How many boys? $\boxed{13}$
0__________(0)	0__________(0)
1__________(1)	1__________(1)
2__________(2)	2__________(2)
3__________(3)	3__________(3)
4__________(4)	4__________(4)
N.A. 5__________(5)	N.A. 5__________(5)
D.N.A. 6__________(6)	D.N.A. 6__________(6)

5a. Would you please give me the name and age of each?

6. Which ones work regularly here in New Jersey? How much do each of the others work?

7a. Where is your home base?

Town ______________________ State ____________________

52

7b. When are you usually there?

Jan. _____(1) Feb. _____(2) March_____(3) April_____(4) May ___(5)
June_____(6) July_____(7) August _____(8) Sept. _____(9)
Oct._____(10) Nov. _____(11) Dec._____(12)

8. In general how much does each youngster bring in in an average day here in N.J.? In Fla.?

WORK RECORD SHEET - GIRLS OR BOYS
WORK STATUS: IN NEW JERSEY

(Cross out one) Girls or Boys (name)	Age	Regularly	Days per week		Earnings per day in dollars in N.J.	
1.____________	7__	________	1___	2___	$ 1-3___	$ 4-5___
	8__		3___	4___	6-7___	8-9___
Income mostly to family _____	9__		5___	6___	10-11___	12-13___
	10__				14-15	16-17___
	11__				18-19___	20 + ___
Income mostly to self _____	12__					
	13__					
	14__					
	15__					
	16__					
	17__					
	18__					
	19__					
	20+__					

WORK STATUS AT HOME BASE

Regularly	Days Per Wk.		Earning per day home base	
	1____	2____	$ 1-3___	$ 4-5___
	3____	4____	6-7___	8-9___
	5____	6____	10-11___	12-13___
			14-15___	16-17___
			18-19___	20+ ___

WORK RECORD SHEET - GIRLS OR BOYS
WORK STATUS IN NEW JERSEY

Girls or Boys(name)	Age	Regularly	Days per week		Earnings per day in dollars in N.J.	
______________	7___	________	1____	2____	$ 1-3___	$ 4-5___
	8___		3____	4____	6-7___	8-9___
Income mostly to family _____	9___		5____	6____	10-11___	12-13___
	10___				14-15___	16-17___
	11___				18-19___	20+ ____
Income mostly to self________	12___					
	13___					
	14___					
	15___					
	16___					
	17___					
	18___					
	19___					
	20+___					

WORK STATUS AT HOME BASE

Regularly	Days per week			
			$ 1-3___	$ 4-5___
________	1____	2____	6-7___	8-9___
	3____	4____	10-11___	12-13___
	5____	6____	14-15___	16-17___
			18-19___	20+ ____

9. How important is the money the boys make in New Jersey to the family? 53 A

very important ______(1)
Pretty important______(2)
not very important______(3)
not important______(4)
don't know______(5)
no answer______(9)
does not apply______(6)

9a. How important is the money the boys make at home base to the family?

53 B

very important ______(7)
pretty important ______(8)
not very important______(9)
not important______(0)
don't know______(x)
no answer______(x)
does not apply______(y)

9b. What about the girls--how important is the money the girls make in N.J. to the family? 54 A

very important ______(1)
pretty important______(2)
not very important______(3)
not important ______(4)
don't know______(5)
no answer______(5)
does not apply______(6)

9c. How about the money the girls make at home base? 54 B

very important ______(7)
pretty important ______(8)
not very important ______(9)
not important______(0)
don't know______(x)
no answer______(x)
does not apply______(y)

10. About how much do you make in a day in a good field of tomatoes beans
potatoes
cutting onions

55

$3______(1)
$4______(1)
$5______(1)
$6______(2)
$7______(2)
$8______(3)
$9______(3)
$10______(4)
$11______(4)

$12______(5)
$13______(5)
$14______(6)
$15______(6)
$16______(7)
$17______(7)
$18______(8)
$19______(8)
D.K.______(x)
N.A.______(y)

D.N.A.______(0)

10a. About how much in a field that is not very good?

$3 ______(1)
$4 ______(2)
$5______(3)
$6______(4)
$7______(5)

56

$8______(6)
$9______(7)
$10______(8)
D.K.______(9)
D.K. and N.A. ______(x)
D.N.A. ____(0)

10b. On the average about how much do you make in an ordinary day in ____________?

$3______(1)
$4______(1)
$5______(2)
$6______(2)
$7______(3)
$8______(3)
$9______(4)
$10______(4)

57

$11______(5)
$12______(5)
$13______(6)
$14______(6)
$15______(7)
$16______(7)
$17______(8)
$18______(8)
$19______(9)
D.K. and N.A.______(x)
D.N.A. _____(0)

11. About how much does your husband make in a day in a good field of tomatoes, beans
potatoes, cutting onions

$3______(1)
$4______(1)
$5______(1)
$6______(2)
$7______(2)
$8______(3)
$9______(3)
$10______(4)
$11______(4)

62

$12______(5)
$13______(5)
$14______(6)
$15______(7)
$16______(7)
$17______(7)
$18______(8)
$19______(8)
D.K.______(x)
N.A.______(y)
D.N.A._____(0)

11a. About how much in a field that is not very good?

$3______(1)
$4______(2)
$5______(2)
$6______(4)

63

$8______(6)
$9______(7)
$10______(8)
D.K.______(9)
D.K. and N.A._____(x)
D.N.A._____(0)

11b. On the average about how much does your husband make in an ordinary day in ____________?

$3______(1)
$4______(1)
$5______(2)
$6______(2)
$7______(3)
$8______(3)
$9______(4)
$10______(4)

64

$11______(5)
$12______(5)
$13______(6)
$14______(6)
$15______(7)
$16______(7)
$17______(8)
$18______(8)
$19______(9)

D.K. and N.A.____(x)
D.N.A.______(0)

12. About how much does your family make for the whole summer here in New Jersey?

$200 _______(1) 68
300_______(2)
400_______(3)
500_______(4)
600_______(5)
800_______(6)
1000_______(7)
1200_______(8)
1400_______(9)
DK _______(0)
NA _______(x)
On other column (y)

$1600_______(1) 69
1800_______(2)
2000_______(3)
2200_______(4)
2400_______(5)
2600_______(6)
2800_______(7)
3000 or more_______(8)
NA _______(9)
On other column (o)

12a. About how much does your family make for the whole year?

$500_______(1) 70
700_______(2)
900_______(3)
1100_______(4)
1300_______(5)
1500_______(6)
1700_______(7)
D.K._______(8)
In other column_____(9)

1900_______(1) 71
2100_______(2)
2300_______(3)
2500_______(4)
2700_______(5)
2900_______(6)
3100_______(7)
In other column _____(8)

$3300_______(1) 72
3500_______(2)
3700_______(3)
3900_______(4)
4100_______(5)
4300 and over_____(6)
In other column____(7)

12b. Whose money do you count on for family income here in New Jersey?

12c. Whose money do your count on for family income in Florida?

In New Jersey:Mother(1) ____$____(per week-season)
In Fla.: Mother(1) ______$_____(per week-season)

In New Jersey:Father (2) ______$_____ (Per week-season)
In Fla.: Father (2) _____$_____(Per week-season)

In New Jersey: Boys
(3) 1._____$_____
(4) 2._____$_____
(5) 3._____$_____
(6) 4._____$_____

In New Jersey: Girls
(7) 1._____$_____
(8) 2._____$_____
(9) 3._____$_____
(0) 4._____$_____
(x) _____N.A.

12c. (cont.)

In Florida: Boys

(3) _____$_____ (5) _____$_____
(4) _____$_____ (6) _____$_____

In Florida: Girls

(7) _____$_____ (9) _____$_____
(8) _____$_____ (0) _____$_____
(x) _____N.A.

13. If husband is absent: 75A
_____has no husband (1)
_____has husband but he is not in N.J. (2)
_____D.N.A. (3)

14. Do you have to pay rent in Florida? How Much?
(4)____No (5) ____Yes (6)____N.A. 75B

per week or per month?

(7)	$10	$50	$90	75C
(8)	20	60	100	
(9)	30	70	120	
(0)	40	80		
(x)	D.K. or N.A.			
(y)	D.N.A.			

15. (If respondent owns home) How much do you have to pay in taxes?

D.N.A. ________(3) 76
$30 or less/yr.________(4)
$40/yr.___________(5)
$50/yr.___________(6)
$60/yr___________(7)
$70/yr.___________(8)
$100/yr.__________(9)
$120/yr. or more___(0) 80

Name__________________________ Schedule # _______
Sex ______________
School_________________________ Age ______________

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
MIGRANT SCHOOLING STUDY
CHILDRENS' 1963 SUPPLEMENT

On all questions use the most appropriate form of the question.

Hello, ________________(name) we've already talked about going to school here, but we haven't had a chance to talk much about what you do when you're away from New Jersey. Is it alright if we talk about that for a little while.

1. Where is your home?
   (Please note if child has difficulty understanding or replying to question.) (If child has difficulty answering, probe on where he lives most of the time.) (Probe for answer giving permanent home address.)

   1a. If no permanent home address:
   Could you give me the address of somebody where (Michael or) I could write to you?

   1b. Whose address did you give me? (Try to get complete information here.) (Obtain name of person and relationship.)

If it's all right with you,(Michael and) I would like to send you a card so you'll remember us. Will you be sure to get it if we mail it to the address you gave me? (Give the child a chance to amend the address.)

2. Do you live in a house or someplace else?
   (Probe on what someplace else means.)

   2a. Do you live in the same house (etc.) all the time when you're home of do you move from one house (etc.) to another.
   (If child moves a lot probe on places in which lived last year.)

   2b. Tell me what your home is like?
   (How big a place do you usually live in? What's it like?)
   (Note any expression of pride or shame.)
   (Probe on whether or not they have a TV set and what kind of bathroom facilities they have.)
   (Try to get them to describe number and type of rooms.)

   2c. How do you like living at home?
   (How do you like the kind of place you usually live in?)
   (Probe for what like and dislike about it -- check especially on sleeping accommodations and room for their own things.)

2d. (If appropriate)
Does your family own your home?

2e. Whose the person that owns it?

3. When you're at home who lives with the family? (For brothers and sisters -- How old is he or she?)
(Probe on persons who live with family who aren't family members.)
(Probe to be sure each member (except mother and father) lives with the family all the time.)
(Note members who move in and out - get circumstances.)

MEMBER'S NAME	AGE	RELATIONSHIP	PERMANENT MEMBER (SPECIFY)

4. Is your father your real father or a step-father? (Probe to be sure the respondent knows what a step-father is?)

4a. If step-father:
Is he the only step-father you have had?

4b. How did he happen to become your step-father? (Repeat for other step-fathers). (Probe for family difficulties etc. Encourage the child to talk about his relationship to his father and any step-fathers he may have had, but if he is resentful don't press him.)

4c. If real father:
Does your father always live with you?
(Probe for relationship to father, but don't press him if he is resentful.)
(If answer is yes, probe for amount of time father spends at home.)

If NO to 4c:
4d. What is the reason that your father doesn't live with you?
(Probe for circumstances leading to his departure.)

5. How about your mother, is she your real mother or a step-mother?

5a. If step-mother:
Is she the only step-mother you have had?

5b. How did she happen to become your step-mother? (Repeat for other step-mothers.) (Probe for family difficulties etc. Encourage the child to talk about his family relationship to his mother and any step-mothers he may have had, but if he is resentful, don't press him.)

5c. If real mother:
Does your mother always live with you?
(Probe for relationship to mother but don't press him if he is resentful.)
(If answer is yes, probe for amount of time mother spends at home.)
(Check on extent to which child is cared for by mother surrogates.)

If NO to 5c:
5d. What is the reason that your mother doesn't live with you?
(Probe for circumstances leading to her departure.)

IF CHILD IS NOT LIVING WITH EITHER MOTHER OR FATHER:

6. How did you come to live with ______________________________(guardian)
(Probe for circumstances)

SCHOOL

7. Could you tell me the different schools you've gone to since you started to go to school? Tell me about it even if you went there only for a little while.
(For each school - Where was this school?
Did you go there from the beginning of school until the end?
If NO: How long did you go to that school?

SCHOOL	LOCATION	LENGTH OF ATTENDANCE	X IS FOR LAST SCHOOL ATTENDED

7a. What school will you go to (at home) this winter?
Name ___________________________ Location ____________________

8. When you're home (where usually live in winter) do you learn as much as the other kids in your school? (i.e. do they do as well).

8a. Who learns more (less) than you do?

8b. Does anyone ever tell you that you're learning more (less) than other children? (Probe for circumstances.)

8c. Do you think you learn as much in school as children who go to some other school?

IF YES:
8d. What children do you think learn more in school than you do?

IF NO:
8e. Do you think any children learn more in school than you do? Who are they?

8f. (If appropriate) Why do you think some children learn more than you do?

9. How much does your mother or father (or parent substitute) ask you about school; a lot, pretty much, only a little, nothing?

_________ a lot
_________ pretty much
_________ only a little
_________ nothing

9a. If talk about school:
What do you usually talk about when you talk about school with them?

10. Do you think they usually know the name of your teacher when you're in school?

10a. Did they know the name of your teacher last year?

10b. IF YES:
Could you tell me how you know they knew her name?

11. When you're back at winter school, di you ever get a chance to bring home things you've done in school?

11a. IF YES:
What kind of things do you bring home?

11b. IF YES to 11:
How much do you think your parents care much that you bring things home from school?

11c. IF NO:
How much do you think your parents (or parent substitute) would care if you did bring things home?

12. How much would you say the children fight when you go to school in the winter (back home)?

12a. What are some of the reasons why they fight?

12b. Do you think any of the children are ever afraid to go to school because they might get beat up?
(Probe for the extent of this circumstance.)

12c. Do you think the children who fight learn as much in school as the children who don't fight so much?
(Probe for an explanation of their answer.)

12d. Do you think they keep other children from learning?
(Probe for an explanation.)

13. Do teachers ever whip any of the children when you go to school back home (in the winter?)

    13a. IF YES to 13:
    How much?

    13b. What do they do when they whip the children?
    (Try to get a description of exactly what forms the punishment takes.)

    13c. What would be some of the reasons why teachers would whip children? (Try to get at specific acts for which whipped.)

    13d. Do you get whipped much?

    IF NO TO 13:
    13e. Do they ever hit them at all? How often? What kinds of things would they hit children for?

14. Do you think the teachers back home like the children or do you think they really don't like them very much?

    14a. Do yourteachers back home like you? (If answer inconsistent with 15 - clarify.)

15. If you could do what you wanted to do when you got back (home) (to where you go to regular winter school), do you think you'd sooner go to school or do you think you'd sooner stay at home?

    15a. What if most of your friends stayed home, would you stay home too?

    15b. Why would you do that?

Well, ______________(name) we've had a nice talk. Thanks a lot for telling me about the other schools you've gone to. (If appropriate) I'll be sending you a card around Christmas time so you won't forget me.

APPENDIX E. STAFF

APPENDIX E

STAFF

RUTGERS MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

Chief Investigator
    Simon Marcson

Assistant Director
    Frank Fasick

Research Assistants
    Richard Schacht
    Pearl Lieff
    Arthur Liebman
    Roger Craig
    Michael Marcson

Interviewers
    Francis Knowles
    John Hinman
    Philip Marcus
    Jack Osman
    Rosa Davila

Tabulations and Typing
    Betty Graeber
    Sondra W. Palmieri
    Gloria J. Irace
    Jean Plaganis

Consultants
    Everett C. Hughes
    Simeon Moss
    Coralee Farlee
    Milton Schwartz

APPENDIX F. THE STATUS OF MIGRATORY LABOR LEGISLATION

APPENDIX F

THE STATUS OF MIGRATORY LABOR LEGISLATION* - AUGUST 18, 1964

Subject	Bill No.	Status	Substantial Abstract
Education	S. 521	Subject matter is covered in the poverty bill, S. 2642, which received final Congressional approval on August 11 and is awaiting the President's signature. (The bill S. 521 passed the Senate on June 10, 1963, and was referred in the House to the Committee on Education and Labor.)	This bill is designed to provide the states with financial assistance to improve the educational opportunities of migrant workers and their children. The bill would set up a four-part program which will operate over a five-year period. The Federal Government would provide 100% of the children's educational assistance each year for the first two years of the program. After this initial two-year period, the financial costs of the children's educational assistance would be shared on a 50-50 matching basis by the Federal Government and the States. Fifty million dollars is authorized for this purpose.
Day-care	S. 522	Subject matter is covered in the poverty bill, S.2642, which received final congressional approval on August 11 and is awaiting the President's signature. (The bill S.522 was passed by the Senate on June 10, 1963, and was referred in the House to the Committee on Education and Labor.)	Designed to establish day-care services for children of migratory farm workers, this bill would authorize $750,000 for matching grants to states to establish and operate day-care centers for migrant children.

* Based on Reports received from Senator H. A. Williams, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. United States Senate.

APPENDIX F (cont.)

Child labor	S. 523	Passed the Senate on June 11, 1963. Pending before the House Committee on Education and Labor.	Under existing Federal laws, the employment of children in agriculture remains unregulated when school is not in session. This measure would close this gap. Specifically, the child labor bill will permit a child to work in agriculture outside of school hours if he is 14 years of age or over; or if he is between 12 and 14 years of age and commutes daily from his permanent residence and has the written consent of his parent or his parent is employed on the same farm.
Crew Leader Registration	S. 524	Passed the Senate on June 11, 1963. Passed the House, with amendments, on August 17,1964, by a vote of 393 to 7.	Under the bill crew leaders would be required to register with the Secretary of Labor. A license (certificate of registration) would be refused or revoked if the crew leader has committed violations incident to his activities as a crew leader such as (1) lying to workers about wages, hours and working conditions, (2) breaching agreements with the growers, (3) breaching agreements with the migrant workers, and (4)being convicted under a state or Federal law related to gambling, prostitution, alcoholic liquors, or narcotics.

APPENDIX F (cont.)

National Advisory Council	S. 525	Passed the Senate on June 10, 1963. Pending before the House Committee on Education and Labor.	Representing the interests of the migrant, the grower, as well as being knowledgeable about the general migratory labor problem, the Council will have the task of advising the President and the Congress about the functioning of laws, regulations, programs, and policies related to migrant worker problems.
Sanitation Facilities	S. 526	Subject matter is covered in the poverty bill, S. 2642, which received final congressional approval on August 11, and is awaiting the President's signature. (The bill S. 526 passed the Senate on June 10, 1963, and was referred in the House to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.)	This bill provides $2 million annually, beginning June 30, 1964, and for four succeeding fiscal years (1) to farmers, associations, and other appropriate parties to assist in the construction or renovation of sanitation facilities used by migratory farm families and (2) for surveys by states lacking adequate data regarding the need for sanitation facilities.
Voluntary Farm Employment service	S. 527	Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor were completed September 26, 1963.	This bill authorizes the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain improved, voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers.

APPENDIX F (cont.)

Minimum Wage	S. 528	Pending before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.	This bill amends the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for minimum wages for agricultural employees. The agricultural minimum wage provided by this bill would be stepped up gradually over a 4-year period to the industrial minimum wage level. The minimum would be 75 cents an hour for the first year; 85 cents the second; $1 the third; and the industrial minimum of $1.25 in the fourth. Coverage under the bill would extend to all employees performing hired farm labor for an employer who used more than 560 man-days of hired farm labor in any one of the four preceding calendar quarters.
Collective Bargaining	S. 529	Pending before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.	This bill would amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural employees.

APPENDIX F (cont.)

Housing	S. 981	Subject matter is covered in two measures, as follows: (1) The poverty bill, S.2642 which received final Congressional approval on August 11 and is awaiting the President's signature. (2) The Housing Act of 1964, S.3049, which was passed by the Senate on July 29, 1964, and by the House on August 13, 1964. House and Senate conferees reached agreement on the bill on August 18, 1964.	This bill would provide funds for loans and grants to improve existing housing and to build new housing for migratory workers.
Tax amortization for farm labor housing	S. 2260	Pending before Senate Committee on Finance.	
Reduced residence requirements for voting	S.J. Res. 82	Pending before Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Judiciary.	